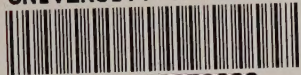


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Two Medieval Satires
on the University of Paris:

LA BATAILLE DES VII ARS OF HENRI d'ANDELI,
and
THE MORALE SCOLARIUM OF JOHN OF GARLAND.

Edited, with renderings into English by
Louis John Paetow

Berkeley, Calif.,
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Vol. 4 No. 1

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Vol. 1 No. 1

THE BATTLE OF THE SEVEN ARTS

A FRENCH POEM BY HENRI D'ANDELI, TROUVÈRE OF THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY. EDITED AND TRANSLATED,
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY
LOUIS JOHN PAETOW

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
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LOUIS J. PAETOW.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, June 6, 1914.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. BATTLES OF BOOKS
2. THE RISE AND DECLINE OF INTEREST IN THE
ANCIENT CLASSICS IN THE TWELFTH AND
THIRTEENTH CENTURIES
3. THE POEM AND THE AUTHOR

INTRODUCTION

1. BATTLES OF BOOKS

“Two spirits divide the world, the ancient spirit and the modern spirit, both justifiable, for they correspond to two real needs of humanity, tradition and progress.” This is the opening sentence of an interesting book which M. Hippolyte Rigault wrote in 1856 under the title *Histoire de la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*. The uninitiated will probably conclude that this is a treatise on political parties and that it discloses the fundamental differences between conservatives and liberals in all times and places. Those who have read the book, however, know that it describes the quarrel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between scholars who fought over the question of the relative value of ancient and modern books. More particularly, the bone of contention was the value of the Greek and Latin classics. That is a contention familiar to the present world of scholarship, which, with lips smiling or drawn as the case may be, is watching the onslaughts of the “Trojans” on Greek at Oxford, and is daily reading denunciatory articles on the one hand, and, on the other, classic symposia on the value of humanistic studies.¹

There is no doubt that at present many an ill wind is blowing against Greek and Latin, which no longer are holding the position in education and scholarship which they occupied in the days of our fathers and grandfathers.² But those who rejoice and those who moan should never forget that this is no new thing under the sun. Few men of discrimination will deny that it is fortunate that a considerable amount of ancient Greek and Latin literature was preserved in medieval libraries—it was a goodly heritage—but think not that it came to send peace on earth; it came not to send peace, but a sword. Indeed, there is no reason to believe that Rigault has written the last interesting book on the

¹ For the present interesting controversy at the University of Paris see the letter signed S. D. in *The Nation*, vol. 97 (1913), 230, and the literature there mentioned.

² A very significant sentence occurs in the preface of the revised edition of Graesse, *Orbis latinus*, Berlin, 1909. Fr. Benedict, the new editor, says, “Der zweite, deutsch-lateinische Teil des Buches ist bei der neuen Bearbeitung weggeblieben. Das Lateinschreiben hat in der Neuzeit selbst in den philologischen Kreisen so nachgelassen, dass es ziemlich auf dem Aussterben steht, und somit erübrigt sich jenes zweite Verzeichnis.”

quarrel of the "ancients and the moderns." That quarrel presents a noble theme, which should be conceived much more broadly than in the pages of Rigault. The vastness of it would lend itself to almost epic treatment, for, long before the seventeenth century, and ever since, there have been so many classical and anti-classical marches and countermarches, so many victories and defeats, so much hope and despair. Modern champions would glory more in victory and sorrow less in defeat if the long and interesting history of the troubled march of the ancient classics across the centuries were constantly lying before them on some fair page.³

Lack of perspective in this matter is painfully evident even today, when many still believe that from time immemorial the A.B. degree has been bound up indissolubly with the study of ancient Greek and Latin literature. That belief is quite as erroneous as the hoary tenacious fallacy that the fall of Constantinople in 1453 ushered in the study of Greek in western Europe and thus opened the flood-gates of the Renaissance. Modern universities are such lineal descendants of medieval universities that, to understand fully our present degrees, we must know the whole truth about the origin and early history of the arts and of the bachelorship which gave us the combination A.B. The A.B. degree, without ancient Greek and Latin literature, was an invention of the Middle Ages, but the classification of arts, as studied in medieval universities, originated among the Greeks and Romans. When a man like Otto Willmann insists that the program of studies which led to an A.B. degree in medieval universities was by no means barbarous, but quite as respectable in scholarship as Gothic architecture now is in art, we should give him a hearing.⁴ A careful study of the medieval course in arts might help us to appreciate the attitude of mind which leads many men to advocate that the A.B. degree should be conferred in our modern universities without special reference to Greek and Latin literature.

We must try, however, to avoid even the semblance of contention either for or against the ancient classics, for fear of distracting attention from our trou-

³ For short sketches of the subject see Shorey, "The case for the classics," pp. 303-343 in *Latin and Greek in American Education*, edited by F. W. Kelsey (New York, Macmillan, 1911; copious bibliography in the footnotes); Rand, "The Classics in European Education," pp. 260-282 in the same publication; H. W., "The Battle of the Books," *Westminster Review*, CLX, 425-437; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1903-1908; first volume in second edition, 1906) *passim*.

⁴ See his recent article on "Arts, the seven liberal," in the new *Catholic Encyclopedia*; likewise his book, *Didaktik als Bildungslehre* (ed. 4; Braunschweig, 1909) 160 ff.

vère. When we argue, it will be for more light on the subject, and we hope to add a little light, believing that with more light there will come some sweetness.⁵

"Sweetness and light" is a very trite expression, but we may be pardoned for using it because Dean Swift wrote it in his *Battle of the Books*, which essay should have a new appeal when read in conjunction with the thirteenth century poem of Henri d'Andeli. The titles and contents of the two pieces are so similar, that the eager critic will be tempted to bridge the centuries and the Channel in order to establish some connection between them. We wish him luck in his endeavor, but we cannot stop to give him aid and comfort.

Swift's essay is but a faint echo of the controversy between the "ancients and the moderns" in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. That storm, which threw the French Academy and the new Royal Academy into a turmoil, had been brewing long before, especially in Italy. Almost as early as in the first generation after Petrarch, the excesses and the pedantry of many Italian humanists made them the butt of the wit and the satire of even their own confrères, and thus prepared the way for a reaction against humanism. Although the religious controversies of the sixteenth century were not conducive to the spread of secular culture, the classics flourished and met with no such active opposition as might be expected. A really serious onslaught of the "moderns" upon the "ancients" came in the seventeenth century when the "moderns" represented the masterpieces of literature which were being written in the vernaculars of western Europe. This trouble was foreshadowed by Petrarch's ill-suppressed jealousy of the popularity of the *Divine Comedy*. During the reign of Louis XIV the quarrel spread from Italy to France and from France to England. It will be necessary only to mention the names of a few prominent champions in order to refresh the memory of the reader concerning this famous episode in the battle of the books: Fontenelle, Perrault, and Boileau in France; Temple, Wotton, Boyle, Bentley, and Swift in England.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed other phases of the battle of books. At times there even was civil war in the domain of the classics over the relative merits of Latin and Greek. Again, hostile criticism revealed that, as sources of history, the ancient classics were not worthy of the unques-

⁵ The closing words of Rigault's book are worth quoting, "Ce qui est sûr, c'est que le procès des anciens et des modernes est encore sur le bureau, et pourra bien y rester longtemps. Les avocats des deux parties continuent à plaider, et les juges les plus sages (j'aurais dû peut-être y songer plus tôt), sont ceux qui, attendant un plus ample informé, s'abstiennent de prononcer l'arrêt."

tioning credence of some of their zealous devotees. In the sweep of innovations of the French revolutionary period, the classics did not remain unmolested. Thus Condorcet, in his *Instituts*, gave the natural sciences the place formerly occupied by the ancient languages, which he characterized as "plus nuisible qu'utiles." Nevertheless, in spite of temporary setbacks, the end of the eighteenth century left the classics still firmly intrenched in European education and learning.

Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the battle has been confined largely to the teaching of the classics in the schools. Sidney Smith began the crusade against the excessive philological emphasis in teaching, the stress on the letter without much regard for the content and spirit of the masterpieces of the Greek and Roman past. Then came the irresistible charge of the natural sciences for a place in the courses in schools, flanked by the modern languages; and thus we come to time's latest limit, when numberless vocational studies are storming bastions classical and non-classical. For these recent phases of the subject we will let the reader browse in the broad expanses of contemporary periodical literature and go back to the Middle Ages to which we wish to draw particular attention.

It is passing strange that so many people today still share the ignorance of the early humanists concerning the history of the ancient classics during the Middle Ages. Far from having neglected them entirely, those centuries were not even exempt from the quarrel between the "ancients and the moderns," and he who would write us the history of that great war must write many a chapter before he comes to the seventeenth century.

We have no adequate account of the decline of the study of Greek in the Latin West, and of the decline of interest in ancient Greek literature in the Greek East towards the beginning of the Middle Ages. One may venture to say, however, that the recalcitrant schoolboy, balking at the task of learning a foreign language, had more to do with the decline of classical Greek in the West than had any fierce barbarians. No doubt many modern "Trojans" will derive too much unholy comfort from the following words of Saint Augustine, but they are too illustrative to be omitted:

But why, then, did I dislike Greek learning, which was full of like tales? For Homer also was skilled in inventing similar stories, and is most sweetly vain, yet was he disagreeable to me as a boy. I believe Virgil, indeed, would be the same to Grecian children, if compelled to learn him, as I was Homer. The difficulty, in truth, the difficulty of learning a foreign language, mingled as it were with gall all the sweetness of those fabulous Grecian stories. For not a single

word of it did I understand, and to make me do so, they vehemently urged me with cruel threatenings and punishments.⁶

Thus it was that Augustine preferred a translation of a Greek book to the original text. At the beginning of the sixth century there were so many in the Latin West who shared Augustine's preference, that Boethius believed the time had come to translate all the works of Aristotle and Plato into Latin. That was a condition of affairs such as scholars faced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when they were eager to read Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen; such as Pope Nicholas V faced in the fifteenth century when he planned to complete the translation of all the Greek prose classics into Latin; and such as we are facing when we still use Bohn translations, and are looking eagerly for each new volume of the Loeb Classical Library.

The case of the Latin classics in the West was quite different during the Middle Ages. The medieval schoolboy was almost as fortunate as Augustine, who in another place confesses:

But what was the cause of my dislike of Greek literature, which I studied from my boyhood, I cannot even now understand. For the Latin I loved exceedingly. . . . There was a time also when (as an infant) I knew no Latin; but this I acquired without any fear or tormenting, by merely taking notice, amid the blandishments of my nurses, the jests of those who smiled on me.⁷

Now the period during which the medieval schoolboy knew no Latin usually extended somewhat beyond infancy, and the grim grammar master (or mistress), with Donatus in hand, rather than the cooing nurses, imparted the first Latin words and constructions; but the worst pains of acquiring a working knowledge of Latin were over before the boy was ten, and the woe had not yet come into the world, which forces grown boys and girls to begin their Latin and Greek at fifteen and sixteen, and young men and women of eighteen and twenty to begin their French and German. Happy days for the schoolboy, when the East was Greek and the West was Latin, and each fervently hated the other! Who knows what hitherto unsuspected vaulting sins of his fathers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the modern schoolboy is expiating, who is groaning amidst the Babel of many modern vernaculars, which took definite literary shape in that period, and at the same time is staggering under the dead weight of both Latin and Greek.⁸

⁶ *Confessions*, Book I, ch. xiv. Translated in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First series, I, 51.

⁷ *Confessions*, Book I, chs. xiii (20) and xiv.

⁸ Eduard Norden admits frankly that the humanists killed Latin; "Petrarca und seine Nachfolger, die das Latein zu neuem Leben erwecken wollten, haben es in Wahrheit getötet. Denn

The Latin classics, then, were not feared in Western Europe during the Middle Ages because of the difficulty of learning a foreign language. But—had not Saint Jerome written, “What has Horace to do with the Psalter, or Virgil with the Gospel, or Cicero with the Apostle?”⁹ Likewise Saint Augustine, after his conversion, “I was compelled to weep for Dido dead, because she slew herself for love; while at the same time I brooded with dry eyes my wretched self dying far from Thee, in the midst of those things, O God, my life.”¹⁰ Such words seem to give us the clue to the gloom which the early humanists saw brooding over the millenium which preceded them. However, let us not be too hasty in our judgment. Jerome and Augustine wrote those sentences in the heat of religious fervor. As an antidote, read Jerome’s letter to Magnus (Letter LXX), on the reading of pagan books; and search in Augustine’s works, how much he loved Latin classics and pagan learning generally. With Augustine, devotion to other-worldliness did not necessarily exclude the literature of this world, but “Wretched that man who knows all philosophies and knows not Thee; blessed is he who knows Thee, though ignorant of all those matters.”¹¹

Illustrations from Paulinus of Nola, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, and so on in the long list of writings which fill the volumns of Migne, will not make it clearer to what extent opinion about the ancient classics was

im Mittelalter hatte es gelebt; waren doch im 13. Jahrhundert Grammatiken und Wörterbücher entstanden, die es wie eine lebende Sprache behandelten. Mochten die Humanisten über dieses ‘Mönchslatein’ die ganze Länge ihres Spottes ausgießen, mochten sie es vergleichen mit einem ‘Schlammgefühl, in dem sich Menschen wühlen, die man besser Schweine nenne,’ ‘Menschen, die man lieber schnarchen als reden höre;’ wenn sie an die Stelle des ‘verkrüppelten Baumes’ die Blütenpracht eiceronianischer Sprache treten liessen, so vergassen sie in ihrer Sehnsucht nach Glanz und Schönheit, dass eine Sprache, die auf blosser Nachahmung berühmter Muster begründet war, nicht lebensfähig sei: in dem Kunststile fand die geschichtliche Sprachentwicklung ihr Grab.” (“Die lateinische Literatur im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter,” *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abteilung VIII [ed. 3, 1912], 519).

Norden goes on to rejoice that the humanists unwittingly furthered the development of modern vernaculars, but we should like to consider it an open question whether the substitution of many literary languages for Latin was a real blessing for western Europe. Perhaps the development of vernaculars could not have been checked in any case, but it is tempting to speculate what the world would be like today if Latin had lived and were now the universal literary language in western Europe, North and South America, Australia, and Africa. In the Middle Ages masters and students wandered from one university to another without being hindered by barriers of language. In spite of all our advantages derived from the invention of printing, a work written in Germany today is very largely a sealed book in England and America, until it has undergone the devitalizing process of translation; whereas in the Middle Ages a book written anywhere was accessible everywhere in western Europe as fast as messengers could carry it and scribes could reproduce it. Happy dream! from which we wake to be confronted with Esperanto and Idiom Neutral.

⁹ Letter to Eustochium (Letter XXII). Translated in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, VI, 35.

¹⁰ *Confessions*, Book I, ch. xiii (20).

¹¹ *Confessions*, Book V, ch. iv (7).

divided in the Middle Ages as it is now, although religious and moral arguments had more weight than they do with us. Again and again we read of an Odo of Cluny who dreamed of his Virgil as a beautiful vase filled with horrid vipers, and, then as now, many men in their old age began to repent of the real or imaginary sins of their youth; and, in the Middle Ages, reading of the classics was one of the standard sins of youth. Should not modern teachers of the ancient classics sigh their *utinam!* for those good old days when youth loved the classics even to the soul's undoing; and when old men, not boys, associated Virgil with vipers?

We need not be astonished at such fear of the classics on religious and moral grounds. There have always been, and still are, apologists for the classics on that score. In 1531, Thomas Elyot wrote,

If by reading the sage counsel of Nestor, the subtle persuasions of Ulysses, the compendious gravity of Menelaus, the imperial majesty of Agamemnon, the prowess of Achilles, the valiant courage of Hector, we may apprehend anything whereby our wits may be amended and our personages more apt to serve our public weal and our prince, what forceth it us though Homer writes leasings?¹²

Three and a half centuries later a certain Charles Elliott, D.D., still wrote:

Some have condemned the study of the Classics on the ground of morality. It is not our purpose to hold them up as models of moral teaching, or to encourage an indiscriminate imitation of the sages of antiquity. . . . The only pure morality is found in the pages of inspiration: the only perfect model of virtue in the Founder of Christianity; and next to Him, in those who believe His doctrines, obey His precepts, and imitate His example. Yet among some of the ancient heathen there was much that was noble and elevated in character. We meet everywhere on the classic page with examples of devoted friendship, filial piety, reverence for the gods, unbending fidelity, self-sacrificing patriotism, and magnanimity. These virtues are commended and their opposites condemned.¹³

For the Middle Ages this phase of the study of the classics is summed up conveniently in Gratian's *Decretum*, in a discussion as to whether priests should be acquainted with profane literature or not.¹⁴ Gratian drew the conclusion that priests must above all shun ignorance, and thus allowed them to judge for themselves whether or not profane literature conduces to wisdom. The subject has not been investigated thoroughly, but it is safe to say that there was no systematic attempt on the part of the medieval church to discourage the read-

¹² In his *Book of the Governour*. Quoted by E. K. Rand in *Latin and Greek in American Education*, edited by F. W. Kelsey (N. Y., 1911), 271.

¹³ "Study of the Greek and Latin Classics," in P. G. Hamerton and others, *Higher Education. A Symposium* (New York, A. S. Barnes & Co. 1879) 67.

¹⁴ This interesting extract is translated in A. O. Norton, *Readings in the History of Education. Mediaeval Universities* (Harvard University, 1909) 60-75.

ing of the ancient authors. Neither can it be upheld that the Christian religion *per se* was utterly inimical to the classics in the Middle Ages. If it had been so hostile, it is hard to see how it was possible for the classics to flourish in the fierce religious heat of the Reformation. The truth is, that for low ebbs in the study of the ancient classics in the Middle Ages, we must look for other causes in addition to those which involve the church and religion.

Now the lowest ebb in the study of ancient classical literature occurred in the century which preceded Petrarch. So low it was that he and his contemporaries believed that the dry and barren period upon which they had fallen must have extended back for centuries to the last days of classic Latin literature. They were badly mistaken. Only three generations had passed away since France had echoed with a quarrel between the "ancient and moderns" which, in importance and interest, may well compare with the seventeenth century war which agitated the French Academy and the Royal Society. Our best record of this early engagement is the *Battle of the Seven Arts* by Henri d'Andeli. It is, however, an exceedingly enigmatical record unless read in the light of the history of culture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

2. THE RISE AND DECLINE OF INTEREST IN THE ANCIENT CLASSICS IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

Thanks to the early humanists, the intellectual history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is still *nova terra*. Only lately a few scholarly ships have touched upon its shores, and, along with samples of its products and stores, have brought back strange tales of wonder. Some people, who stay at home and do not themselves venture into the unknown perilous seas, but who nevertheless are interested in the new findings, have popularized them, and have begun to weigh the thirteenth century against all other centuries and have not found it wanting. Manifestly, the time is not ripe for such judgments. That era of parchment has bequeathed to us vast quantities of writings which still await the palaeographer, the editor, and the publisher, and they in turn are all appealing to the lexicographer. In our day of excellent dictionaries, encyclopedias, and books of reference of all kinds, the student of medieval Latin texts is still thrown upon his Du Cange, his classical dictionaries, and mostly upon his common sense. The proposal at the last International Congress of Historical Studies, held at London, for a new dictionary of medieval Latin, indicates that we still are at the very beginning of the vast work of restoring the true history of the Middle Ages.

Recent books are saying much about a "Twelfth Century Renaissance." That is an unfortunate term. "New birth" always recalls the words of the Gospels and implies some sort of a miracle which transcends the ordinary vision of historians. In this heyday of theories of evolution, it is strange that historians are still prone to explain some periods of rapid change by means of a theory of miraculous regeneration. With the beginning of the twelfth century, life in western Europe began to broaden and deepen rapidly, and thereafter the rate of development scarcely ever diminished until new worlds had been discovered and the modern European states and civilizations had come into being. This natural and gradual development has been much obscured by arbitrary divisions and classifications, and by one-sided notions of what constitutes progress and advancement of culture. Until recently, the early humanists were considered absolutely trustworthy judges of the culture of their own time and of the cen-

turies which preceded them. Thus it came about that the astonishing intellectual development of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which gave rise to modern universities, was obscured and belittled; so much so that a very interesting chapter of the quarrel between "ancients and moderns" was entirely lost sight of for centuries.

When the intellectual horizon widened rapidly in the twelfth century, it was natural that, among many other things, there should be an increasing interest in the study of language and literature. Latin books, old and new, pagan and Christian, attracted attention first and foremost, although Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic were not unknown to some scholars. Greek and Hebrew aroused curiosity mainly because they are the original languages of the Bible and because Aristotle began to fascinate so many minds, while Arabic was the medium through which much philosophy and natural science, ancient and medieval, reached western Europe. The Latin world of scholarship, however, largely contented itself with translations of these foreign books. A literary appreciation of Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic is scarcely discernible. In the thirteenth century, men like Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon clearly foresaw, and Bacon clearly stated, how essential these languages were for thorough scholarship among the Latins, but their pleadings were not heeded. Thus we may confine our attention entirely to the history of the Latin classics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and still furnish a sufficient setting for the poem of Henri d'Andeli.

It has become almost axiomatic that Italy necessarily was the cradle of the "Revival of Learning,"¹⁵ and yet there is no compelling argument which forces us to subscribe to this peculiar doctrine of predestination. In reality, that cradle was being rocked merrily in northern France during the twelfth century. It contained a lusty infant, not so precocious and vivacious and willful as the later Italian baby, but a nice, healthy, normal child. There is no doubt that it would have grown up to spread its wholesome influence throughout the field of western

¹⁵ Quotation marks should always enclose this antiquated expression, which cannot truthfully stand by itself without the insertion of the words "ancient classical." It is a well established fact that the new interest in classical literature, aroused by Petrarch, marked a forward step, not only in the study of Latin and Greek, but of learning in general in the fourteenth century. We can easily appreciate how the early humanists were led to consider their innovations a 'revival of learning, using the term without qualification; but we can no longer concede to them a monopoly on the word "learning." The bald expression, "revival of learning in the fourteenth century," inevitably gives the ordinary reader the false impression that modern scholarship still upholds the belief that the work of the universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cannot be classed as learning.

scholarship, if its parents had not become so foolish about some of its sister sciences that they allowed the poor thing to perish of neglect.

The schools of Chartres have earned the enviable reputation of having been the chief seat of sound humanistic studies in the twelfth century. Fortunately, we have considerable material for a study of this locality, which has been utilized admirably by A. Clerval in his book, *Les Ecoles de Chartres au Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1895). The famous bishop of Chartres, Fulbert, in the eleventh century prepared the way for a remarkably distinguished group of teachers, such as Bishop Ivo, and the chancellors Bernard of Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée, and Theodoric of Chartres. The fame of their teaching drew scholars from far and wide so that the reputation of their city rivalled that of Paris. There was a colony of English students at Chartres, of whom John of Salisbury was the most distinguished representative. John never wearied of praising his teachers, especially for their instruction in the humanities, and modern English writers never tire of calling attention to him as an exceptional humanist of the twelfth century. On the whole, this has tended to isolate him and to give the impression that he furnishes the exception which proves the rule that the ancient classics were not cultivated at that time. As a matter of fact, John of Salisbury was by no means a striking exception. He vehemently assailed "Cornificius" and his followers who despised literature and believed they could make a short cut to wisdom by means of dialectic, but he was not a solitary champion any more than was Matthew Arnold against the "Philistines" of the nineteenth century.

Indeed, the Latin classics were quite generally read in the twelfth century, not with such abandon and unreasonable exclusiveness as in the time of Petrarch and his followers, but enough to have had a very wholesome effect upon the Latin style of the twelfth century, which is strikingly superior to that of the thirteenth. To furnish enough examples to substantiate this statement would carry us too far afield. Almost every trustworthy recent article and book which deals with the sources of the literary history of the twelfth century, offers abundant illustrations. It will be sufficient to call attention to an interesting anonymous list of books which dates from the close of the twelfth century.¹⁶ This document mentions books for the seven liberal arts, medicine, canon and civil law, and theology, including a very respectable list of the ancient classics, such as Statius, Virgil, Lucan, Juvenal, Horace, Ovid, Sallust, Cicero, Martial, Petronius, Sym-

¹⁶ Recently edited from Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, England, MS 385, by C. H. Haskins, "A List of Textbooks from the Close of the Twelfth Century," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX (1909), 75-94.

machus, Livy, and Seneca. In all probability the list pertains to Paris, and the probable author was the Englishman Alexander Neckam (1157-1217), whose works, as far as they are known, prove him to have been a scholar of considerable classical learning.

There can be no reasonable doubt, that, at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Latin classics were still widely read, even in Paris. In gossiping about the deeds he had done, the delightful Welshman, Gerald de Barri, brags about his success at Paris as a lecturer on law because he interspersed his lectures with apt quotations from the philosophers and classical authors.¹⁷ Sermons and addresses to students are apt to be very stereotyped, and often vehemently assail scholastic vices which the student body has long ago exchanged for newer ones, but Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240) was an alert preacher and probably knew fairly well what the students of Paris were doing. In his day excessive devotion to the Latin classical poets surely was a declining sin among the students, but it could not have disappeared entirely at the time when he said:

In spite of the value of the art of eloquence which we derive from the poets, properly called authors [*auctores*], it is better to choose for our instruction those works which contain moral teaching, such as those of Cato, Theodulus, Avianus, Prudentius, Prosper, Sedulius, and above all, the Versified Bible. Do not books of this kind suffice without turning to the historians and the poets for excitations which lead to debauch and vanity? Isidore tells us that it is not only in offering incense that we sacrifice to the demons, but also in searching with eagerness the pagan fables and maxims; above all, his words apply to those who allow themselves to be drawn to such studies by pleasure or curiosity. Men of experience may cull from them some good thoughts and wise maxims, as gold may be found in the mud. . . . But human life is already too short for him who confines himself to such learning as may be acquired without danger.¹⁸

John Garland, a master of grammar in Paris until about 1252, was in much closer touch with the students, and was therefore better informed about their studies. He was a lone enthusiast for the classics when almost everybody in the great university was more interested in other things. In his *Morale Scholarium*, written between 1238 and 1244, we seem to hear the swan-song of the ancient classics at the University of Paris. He condemned works which aimed at be-

¹⁷ "Adeo namque vivas legum et canonum rationes introductas rhetoricis persuasionibus adjuvabat; adeoque tam verborum schematibus atque coloribus quam sententiarum medullis causas adornabat, dictaque philosophorum et auctorum miro artificio inserta locis congruis adaptabat; ut quanto scientiores et eruditiores accederent, tanto avidius et attentius ad audiendum memoriaeque figendum aures et animos applicarent." Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Rebus a se Gestis* in his *Opera* (Rolls Series), I, 45.

¹⁸ *Sermo coram scholaribus*. Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 17509, fos. 31, 32. A French translation may be found in Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age* (Paris, ed. 2; 1886), 474-5.

littling Helicon. "Where the authors flourish," he says, probably referring to Orleans, "the doctors profit by it and their writings are much improved." He praised poets who were still true to the ancient muses and then he pleaded for reform; even suggesting that the ancient classics be re-established by law.¹⁹ (He surely would have resorted to entrance requirements if there had been such barriers around medieval universities).

Thus, during the first half of the thirteenth century, the ancient classics were well-nigh forsaking Paris. In the statutes of the university there is no trace of them. At this time the schools of Chartres amounted to very little, and now the center of humanistic studies was Orleans. Unfortunately, we have much less information about the schools of Orleans than about those of Chartres, and there is no such book for Orleans as Clerval, *Les Ecoles des Chartres*. Leopold Delisle called attention to the importance of the schools of Orleans in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in 1869, but since that date little new material has been discovered.²⁰ About the year 1200, Orleans ranked with the famous seats of learning such as Salerno, Bologna, Toledo, and Paris. The writers of the time always distinguished it as the center of ancient classical studies.²¹ In a formulary of letters, written probably at Orleans in the first half of the thirteenth century, is a model letter for students who want to borrow books from their friends; it

¹⁹ *Morale Scholarium*, Bruges, MS 546, fol. 6^{vo}; Gonville and Caius College, MS 385, p. 312; Bodleian, MS Rawlinson G. 96, p. 167. For quotations from this work and for other material pertaining to the subject matter of this chapter, see L. J. Paetow, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities, with special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric*, (Champaign, Illinois, 1910. Also published in the *University Studies* of the University of Illinois, III, No. 7, January 1910), ch. I.

²⁰ L. Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans au XII^e et au XIII^e siècle," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, VII (1869), 139-154. See also A. de Foulques de Villaret, "L'Enseignement des lettres et des sciences dans l'Orléanais depuis les premiers siècles du Christianisme jusqu'à la fondation de l'Université d'Orléans," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais*, XIV (1875), 299 ff (also printed separately, Orléans, H. Herluison, 1875); and C. Cuissard, *L'Etude du Grec à Orléans depuis le IX^e siècle jusqu'au milieu du XVIII^e siècle* (Orléans, 1883).

²¹ The poet Matthew of Vendôme (d. ca. 1200) wrote, "Parisius logicam sibi iactitet, Aurelianus auctores: elegos Vindocinense solum" (in his *Poetical Formulary*, edited by Wattenbach, in *Sitzungsberichte der bayrischen Akademie*, 1872, II, 571). Geoffrey of Vinsauf, in his *Poetria nova* (addressed to Pope Innocent III), edited by Leyser, *Historia Poetarum*, 920, vv. 1009-1013 wrote,

"In morbis sanat medici virtute Salernum
Aegros. In causis Bononia legibus armat
Nudos. Parisius dispensat in artibus illos
Panem, unde cibant robustos. Aurelianus
Educat in cunis autorum lacte tenellos."

In a sermon before the students of the University of Toulouse, in 1229, the monk Helinand said: "Ecce quaerunt clerici Parisiis artes liberales, Aurelianus auctores, Bononiae codices, Salerni pyxides, Toleti daemones et nusquam mores." (Often quoted, e. g., Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, II, 727).

reads in part, "I was in Paris a long time and many told me that a knowledge of the authors would redound to my credit. Consequently, I have come to Orleans with the intention of making some progress in this study, and I hope to succeed if I have the books."²² Alexander Neckam waxed enthusiastic over the work at Orleans in these words: "Parnassus itself cannot compare with thee, Orleans; the double summit of Parnassus yields to thee. I think that in no other city the songs of the Muses, watched over with so much zeal, are better interpreted."²³ The despairing wail of John Garland, the last of the classicists in Paris, appealed to Orleans to revive a forsaken cause. "Aid me," he wrote in 1234. "illustrious poets, whom golden renown matches with gold, you whom the city of Orleans attracts from all the regions of the world, you, the glory of the fountain of Hippocrene. God has chosen you to sustain the edifice of eloquence shaken to its very foundation; for the Latin language is decaying, the green fields of the authors are withering, and the jealous blast of Boreas has blighted the flowery meadows."²⁴

A gallant attempt was made by Orleans to defend her classical poets against Paris, where flourished the more popular intellectual interests of the time. That struggle is the theme of the following poem of Henri d'Andeli, which will speak for itself very well. During the second half of the thirteenth century, Orleans was famous for law, but literary studies had declined so utterly that a student in Orleans now warned one of his friends not to come there to teach the subjects of

²² "Scolaris amico quod mittat sibi actores.

"Qui scolarem miliciam exercere desiderat et profectum sciencie ex ea percipere, sine libris non veniat ad actores. Multo jam tempore fui Parisius, et multorum novi de testimonio quod actorum sciencia prestaret honorem. Aurelianus igitur ea mente me contuli, quod in eis proficerem et eventum suum haberet intentio si libros habuerim. Vestram ergo benivolenciam imploro ut librorum vos habeam provisorem quos ad tante sciencie consequucionem esse noveritis oportunos." Quoted by Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans," p. 150.

²³ "Non se Parnassus tibi conferat, Aurelianus,
Parnassi vertex cedit uterque tibi.
Carmina Pieridum, multo vigilata labore,
Exponi nulla certius urbe reor."

De naturis rerum ("De laudibus divinae sapientiae," vv. 607-610), edited by Wright in the *Rolls Series* (London, 1863), 454.

²⁴ "Vos vates magni quos aurea comparet auro
Fama, favete mihi, quos Aurelianus ab urbe
Orbe trahit toto, Pegasei gloria fontis.
Vos deus elegit, per quos fundamina firma
Astent eloquii studio succurrere, cujus
Fundamenta labant: emarcescunt lingua latina,
Aurum vernans exaruit area, pratum
Florigerum boreas flatu livente perussit."

Ars lectoria ecclesiae [*Accentarius*], Bruges MS 456, fol. 76^{vo}. This extract was printed by Scheler, *Lexicographie latine du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle* (Leipzig, 1867), 9.

the trivium, which were no longer popular as in the days of old.²⁵ Whatever students of the trivium still remained were lost in the "labyrinth of Aristotle."²⁶ Thus it came about that Petrarch heard nothing about the ancient classics when he travelled in France about a century after Henri d'Andeli had staged the famous battle of the books between Paris and Orleans.

It remains to investigate the causes of this utter decline of humanistic studies. It occurred at the time when the great medieval universities were taking shape, at a time when there was intense intellectual ferment, and hence it cannot be ascribed to mental sloth, or to innate inability or stolidity. Many books state that the time was not ripe for appreciative classical studies, that the world was waiting for the awakening of the individual and the appearance of the "modern man." Such explanations are mostly blowy words, which tend to fill the ears with sonorous sound and the eyes with dust. In historical work it will always be profitable to descend from such lofty generalities to an examination of whatever humble facts may be available.

The obvious thing to do is to try to understand what interested scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries so much that they forsook the Latin classics open-eyed, and thus naturally failed to advance to an appreciation of classic Greek literature. Perhaps it will be well to dispose of theology at the outset. There is abroad a generally erroneous notion about religious instruction in the Middle Ages. Any close inspection of the work of medieval schools reveals the rather startling fact that they offered extremely little religious instruction. It is equally surprising to find that theology was taught in comparatively few universities of the Middle Ages, whereas a faculty of law was lacking in not a single one of them. We concede that the Christian religion dominated men's minds more than it does today, but that domination was not attained primarily by close and constant study of the sacred texts. It is a grave mistake to identify practically all advanced medieval learning with theology. All learning was almost universally said to be ancillary to theology, but that generally was a mere figure of speech when so few students pursued the long and arduous path which led to the degree of doctor of theology. Henri d'Andeli presents a very signifi-

²⁵ "G. Arelianis studens" writes, "Scicitatus sum quot et quanti forent Arelianis in trivialibus auditores, tandem pro facto compertum est hos scolares esse paucos et indigos nec non superficia rudimenta sectantes, quod eorum doctores intuiti ad reliquas convolant disciplinas. Igitur quamquam meus animus vestram gliscat presenciam, nullominus vobis instinctu consulo caritatis quod Arelianis non curetis pro trivialibus edocendis venire, ubi non sunt plures qui subtiliter audirent sermonis vestri dogmata [venienda] veneranda." Quoted by C. H. Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students," *American Historical Review*, III (1898), 222, note 3.

²⁶ L. Delisle, *Le formulaire de Tréguier* (Orléans, 1890), Appendix.

cant personification of Theology, who withdraws from the army of Logic to the wine-cellars of Paris, because she takes so little interest in the contest between the secular books.²⁷

Logic, not Theology, was commander-in-chief of the forces of Paris which overwhelmed the authors of Orleans, led by Grammar. Probably nobody will ever be able to explain just why it was that logic became so popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. So closely was logic linked with philosophy in medieval universities, that many writers still confuse the reader by treating them as one, and then they usually go one step farther in the wrong direction by indentifying both logic and philosophy with theology. We stultify ourselves when we carry generalizations about the learning of the Middle Ages to such an absurd degree. Alert minds in the twelfth century were fascinated by the excellent rules for correct reasoning formulated by Aristotle and his commentators. As all thoughtful men have done, they thereupon proceeded to try to solve the riddle of the universe and the mystery of existence on the basis of the data they had in hand. Most of them believed sincerely that they had the advantage of a wonderful body of revealed truth with which they tried to harmonize all the wisdom of the ancients as well as their own cogitations. They were extremely earnest in this quest. They welcomed new material with delight. Abelard had known only a few of the logical treatises of Aristotle. In the course of the twelfth century, and the beginning of the next, almost all the other Aristotelian works which are extant were revealed to Western scholarship, for the most part in the form of Latin translations from Greek and Arabic. It would be hard to exaggerate the furor caused by the "New Aristotle" in the thirteenth century. To be sure, there was some opposition to the new books and to some of the Arabic commentaries written on them, but was there ever an important cause which met no opposition? The tide of interest in these books of Aristotle was irresistible and easily swept away all obstacles. They were held out as a drawing-card by the newly established University of Toulouse, which sent a circular letter broadcast in 1229, advertising that "here the books of nature, which have been prohibited at Paris, may be heard by all who wish to investigate thoroughly the innermost secrets of nature."²⁸ Not long after that,

²⁷ See below, p. 43, ll. 79-83.

²⁸ "Libros naturales, qui fuerant Parisius prohibiti, poterunt illic audire qui volunt nature sinum medullitus perscrutari." Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I, 131. This letter is translated in *The Nation*, vol. 91 (1910), 415. The best account of the introduction of the "New Aristotle," is in P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroïsme Latin au XIII^e Siècle*, 2 vols. (ed. 2, Louvain, 1908, 1911), I, ch. I.

Henri d'Andeli lamented that even at Paris the arts students "care for nothing except to read the books of nature."²⁹ To understand the medieval universities, it is essential to appreciate the sound intellectual enthusiasm which filled the streets of Paris with thousands of arts students who studied Aristotelian logic and philosophy, and which enticed the most able and the most earnest of the masters of arts into theology.

It is even more important to understand the reverse of this picture. Such eager devotion to those subjects had many drawbacks. As early as the first half of the twelfth century complaints were loud against the excesses of the logicians. The words of John of Salisbury have been quoted so often that it will not be necessary to repeat them in this hasty survey. They are typical utterances of men who saw that scholarship was tending to become superficial; that many men, who could not or would not reach the depths of learning, were making daring and spectacular dialectical flights which astounded the gaping multitudes, but which would meet a disastrous end in the first strong gust of sound scholarship.³⁰ The thing which is most interesting about John's protest is that he championed the classical belles-lettres which he studied with so much profit and pleasure at the feet of his famous masters of Chartres. If Henri d'Andeli had lived a century earlier, he would have made Chartres the city of Grammar, and John of Salisbury would probably have been depicted as one of her staunchest men-at-arms. Perhaps he would also have mentioned Peter of Blois as one of her allies. Writing to the archdeacon of Nantes (c. 1160), concerning the education of his two nephews, Peter said:

You say that William has a quicker and sharper mind, because, having neglected the study of grammar and the authors, he flew to the cunning of the logicians where he learned dialectic not

²⁹ See below, p. 44, l. 92.

³⁰ Lest any readers might consider an aeronautical figure of speech highly inappropriate in a discussion of the Middle Ages, we print the following story which William of Malmesbury tells concerning Halley's comet, which appeared shortly before the conquest of England by William of Normandy: "Soon after a comet, a star denoting, as they say, change in kingdoms, appeared trailing its extended and fiery train along the sky. Wherefore a certain monk of our monastery, by name Elmer, bowing down with terror at the sight of the brilliant star, wisely exclaimed, 'Thou art come! a matter of lamentation to many a mother art thou come; I have seen thee long since; but I now behold thee much more terrible, threatening to hurl destruction on this country.' He was a man of good learning for those times, of mature age, and in his early youth had hazarded an attempt of singular temerity. He had by some contrivance fastened wings to his hands and feet, in order that, looking upon the fable as true, he might fly like Daedalus, and collecting the air on the summit of a tower, had flown for more than the distance of a furlong; but, agitated by the violence of the wind and the current of air, as well as by the consciousness of his rash attempt, he fell and broke his legs, and was lame ever after. He used to relate as the cause of his failure, his forgetting to provide himself with a tail." William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1887-89), 2 vols., (Rolls Series), I, 276; translated by J. A. Giles, *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle* (London, Bohn, 1847), 251.

as he should have done, in books, but in tablets and notebooks. In such is not the foundation of learning and the subtlety which you praise is harmful to many.³¹

The wail of complaint continued unbroken into the thirteenth century, but it became fainter and fainter, while logic was mounting into the proud position of supremacy which Henri d'Andeli in sorrow was obliged to concede to her. "Beardless youths sit in the chairs of the old professors," groaned the pessimistic Stephen, bishop of Tournai, "and they who are scarcely pupils are anxious to be called masters . . . Neglecting the rules of the arts and discarding the books of good authority, with their sophistications they catch flies of senseless verbiage as in the webs of spiders."³² In his book *On the Nature of Things*, Alexander Neckam (d. 1217) wrote a long chapter on the seven arts in which he sharply satirized the craze for dialectical disputations at Paris, and deplored the decline of interest in literature.³³ Gerald de Barri (d. 1223) likewise took a very determined stand in this matter and pointed out that the undue emphasis on dialectics was in large measure the cause of the decline of ancient literature. He told many an amusing tale to warn his contemporaries of the error of their ways, but his witticisms were not appreciated until two centuries after his death.³⁴

Such was the chief disturbance which charged the atmosphere between Paris and Orleans in the time of Henri d'Andeli. His poem itself, however, is a plain refutation of the current notion that the blame for the lack of humanistic enthusiasm must be laid solely at the door of scholasticism, so called. He tells us about many allies of Logic, among whom rode proudly both Civil and Canon Law. It would not be difficult to demonstrate how the study of law minimized other branches of learning in the University of Bologna, but we usually do not

³¹ "Willelmum predicas subtilioris vene et acutioris ingenii, eo quod grammaticae et auctorum scientia pretermisso volavit ad versutias logicorum, ubi non in libris, sicut solet, dialecticam didicit, sed in sedulis et quaternis. Non est in talibus fundamentum scientie litteralis, multisque perniciosa est ista subtilitas, quam extollis." *Epistola*, No. 101, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, 207, col. 312. Also in Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 28.

³² "Ve duo predicta sunt, et ecce restat tertium ve: facultates quas liberales appellant amissa libertate pristina in tantam servitutem devocantur, ut comatuli adolescentes earum magisteria impudentes usurpent, et in cathedra seniorum sedeant imberbes, et qui nondum norunt esse discipuli laborant ut nominentur magistri. . . . Omissis regulis artium adjectisque libris autenticis artificum muscas inanum verbulorum sophismatibus suis tamquam aranearum tendiculis includunt." Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 48. This quotation is from a letter to the pope written between 1192 and 1203.

³³ Alexander Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum*, cap. clxxiii, ed. Wright (Rolls Series), 283-307.

³⁴ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, II, cap. xxxvii, ed. Brewer (Rolls Series), II, 348-357. See also C. H. Haskins, "The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century," in *American Historical Review*, X (1904), 9ff.

think of it as playing that rôle in Paris and in the north of France generally. And yet, towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, the growing popularity of that lucrative science was feared in Paris by those who cherished the humanities. Gerald de Barri lamented the craze for law as one of the most important causes of the neglect of letters. "Some," he says (quoting Radulphus Belvacensis), "are so superficial, that, neglecting the well written books of the poets and of philosophers, they presume to advance from the very rudiments of the arts, that is, from Donatus and Cato, immediately to law, not only to the civil, but even to canon law."³⁵ He recalls that once he heard a certain professor at Paris proclaim before a multitude of students that the evil days had come which the sibyl had foretold in her prophesy, "The days will come, woe to them, when law will obliterate the study of letters."³⁶ Canon law found a natural home in Paris. The study of civil law was prohibited at Paris in 1219 by a bull of Pope Honorius III,³⁷ but apparently no more heed was given to the prohibition than to those directed against the "New Aristotle," for Henri d'Andeli places the civil law even before canon law in the army which marches from Paris.³⁸

³⁵ "Alii superseminati, qui et superficiales dici possunt, qui, praetermissa literatura, poetarum scilicet auctorum, philosophorum, et artium fundamento, statim a Donato et Catone ad leges non solum humanas, sed etiam divinas, se transferre praesumunt." Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 349.

³⁶ "Causam tanti defectus huius et tam generalis hanc esse noveritis, quod literaturae radicem et fundamentum eatenus inconcussum leges imperiales in regnis occiduis jam propemodum, immo praeter modum, hodie suffocarunt. Tempus enim de quo Sibyllae vaticinium olim mentionem fecit (quod magistrum Menervium, principalem Petri Abulardi discipulum et rhetorem incomparabilem, eximium in auditorio suo, Parisiis coram multitudine scholarium recitantem audivimus et plangentem, damnisque futuris valde compatiens) jam advenit, erat autem vaticinium tale: 'Venient dies, vae illis, quibus leges oblitterabunt scientiam literarum.' " Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae* Proemium, ed. Brewer (Rolls Series), IV. 7. This passage was partly restored from the quotation of it made by A. Wood, *Antiq. Univer. Oxon.*, 54. The *Speculum* was written about 1220. Gerald had referred to this prophesy of the sibyl before, in his *Gemma*, *ibid.*, II, 349: "Episcopus autem ille, de quo nunc ultimo locuti sumus [Radulphus Belvacensis], inter superficiales numerari potuit, ejusmodi hodie multos novimus propter leges Justinianas, quae literaturam, urgente cupiditatis et ambitionis incommodo, adeo in multis jam suffocarunt, quod magistrum Mainerium [*sic*] in auditorio scholae suae Parisius dicentem, et damna sui temporis plangentem, audivi, vaticinium illud Sibillae vere nostris diebus esse completum, hoc scilicet: 'Venient dies, et vae illis, quibus leges oblitterabunt scientiam literarum.' "

³⁷ Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 92.

³⁸ See below, p. 43, ll. 65-68. Also Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, I, 323, note 4. Hitherto books which have described the struggles of the ancient classics for breath and light have not given sufficient attention to the rivalry of the study of law. Roman law was as much of a heritage of the ancient world as were the Greek and Latin belles-lettres, and it so happened that law appealed to the minds of the scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries more than did the classics. When the study of law in medieval universities had become stereotyped, largely because of the lack of historical and comparative methods, a strong reaction against it in favor of belles-lettres set in during the fourteenth century. Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Lionardo Bruni, for example, became disgusted with law and turned eagerly to letters.

We have already seen that at the beginning of the fourteenth century Orleans had lost its reputation as the seat of Latin belles-lettres and was famous only for law. If Henri d'Andeli had had the perspective which we have today, he would have feared Law as much as Logic, and he would also have realized that the humanistic schools of Orleans were nursing another viper in their very bosom, namely the *ars dictaminis*.

Rhetoric, in the old Roman sense such as Quintillian described it, never flourished in the Middle Ages. However, the art of writing letters and other important documents remained an important accomplishment in those days when few could write at all. Towards the close of the eleventh century the demand for such writing increased so suddenly that it gave rise to a new and distinct art, the *ars dictaminis*, which in some places practically usurped the whole field of rhetoric, and was often simply called by that name.³⁹

As a separate branch of instruction the *ars dictaminis* had its origin in Italy. But it developed in other centers as well, notably in the Loire valley and there especially in Orleans. During the first half of the thirteenth century a sharp rivalry sprang up between the schools of *dictamen* in Bologna and Orleans. Boncompagno was the famous master of the art in Bologna about 1215. He wrote many books on it, the longest and most important of which he called the *Rhetorica antiqua*, or simply the *Boncompagnus*, punning on his own name.⁴⁰ He was a ridiculously vain man and was especially jealous of the *dictatores* of Orleans, whom he accused of a bad style due to their undue imitation of ancient classical models. He endeavored to make the new art as practical as possible, and hence advocated that the only proper models were the documents emanating from the papal curia and the imperial chancery, or even the writings of the church fathers. He took delight in the accusation of his adversaries, who said that he considered himself greater than Cicero. He claimed that in his *Rhetoric* he had not followed Cicero or any other author and jokingly added that he could not recall whether he had ever as much as read Cicero. Then in a patronizing tone he said that he had never depreciated the *Rhetoric* of Tullius or ever

³⁹ For bibliographies on the subject see Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, III (1898), 204, note 2; Molinier, *Sources de l'histoire de France*, II (1902), 204; Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts* (New York, 1906) 61, note 1. See also Paetow, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities*, ch. III.

⁴⁰ How completely this "Rhetoric" is devoted to the *ars dictaminis* may be seen from the contents of its six books: (1) on student letters, (2) the various forms issued by the Roman Church, (3) letters sent to the Pope, (4) letters to and from emperors, kings and queens, (5) letters to the clergy, (6) letters of noblemen, cities, and peoples.

dissuaded those who wished to imitate it (probably a slur on the masters of Orleans).⁴¹

Very likely Henri d'Andeli's bitter hatred of the Lombards in the train of Rhetoric⁴² goes back in part to this intense rivalry between Bologna and Orleans, but it must be ascribed mainly to the peculiar turn taken by the *ars dictaminis* in Italy. From the beginning, the art had had very intimate relations with the study of law. Indeed, both law and the *ars dictaminis* branched off simultaneously from the old-fashioned rhetoric into separate disciplines. As time went on, the *ars dictaminis* gradually became a mere handmaiden of law, since there grew up such a great demand for men who could draw up accurate legal documents. The manuals of the art confined themselves more and more to this strictly practical need of the times and aimed at the training of professional notaries. The instruction along this line in the University of Bologna and elsewhere may be compared with the business courses in our modern universities. Boncompagno saw the drift of the times. His *Oliva*, *Cedrus*, and *Mirrha* deal with privileges, statutes, and wills, and were thus especially designed for the use of notaries. By gradual stages the *ars dictaminis* resolved itself into the *ars notaria*.

Many notaries achieved extraordinary success in Italy. It will be remembered that a considerable number of the early humanists were notaries, notably Salutato. The most famous thirteenth century Italian notary was Rolandinus Passagerius of Bologna. Not all of the boys who trained for this profession were so successful. Numbers of them sought their fortune beyond the Alps and naturally Paris reaped a goodly share of these "Lombards," who pieced together their smattering of legal knowledge and their facility for drawing up wills, deeds, and similar documents in order to filch away many a heritage from the foolish people who came to them for advice. In short, they were the shyster lawyers of the time.

Apparently Henri d'Andeli did not realize how antagonistic to the ancient classics was the simple pursuit of the *ars dictaminis* even at Orleans, and even when it was not so strictly specialized as it became in northern Italy, which sent

⁴¹ "Est preterea liber iste [*Palma*] mee rethorice prologus, licet in rethorica Tullium non fuerim imitatus. Nunquam enim memini me Tullium legisse nec secundum alicuius doctrinam me aliquid in rethoricis traditionibus vel dictamine fecisse profiteor, nisi quod quandoque causa deridendi emulos me Buchimenonem appellavi. Verumtamen nunquam Tullii depravavi rethoricam nec eam imitari volentibus dissuasi." *Palma*, in C. Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften des Magister Buoncompagno* (Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig, 1894), 105. See also *ibid.*, 42.

⁴² See below, p. 43, ll. 68-74; p. 51, ll. 224-229; and p. 60, ll. 448-9.

the hated "Lombards" to Paris. In a model letter, which comes from the diocese of Orleans, one student advises another to abandon the profitless and even harmful pursuit of poetry and to hasten to take up the *ars dictaminis* which holds out such fair prospects of worldly success.⁴³ About the middle of the thirteenth century an itinerant *dictator*, Ponce of Provence, heralded his coming by sending a letter to the masters and students of Orleans, in which he describes his art in the most glowing colors of allegory. He tells how, when wandering over hills and valleys, he met an exceedingly beautiful maiden. Unable to resist her charms, he prostrated himself at her feet and begged to be allowed to serve her. She graciously took his right hand, raised him from the ground, and showed him a large and beautiful city. No one might enter it except by seven portals typifying the manifold relations which exist between men and women of every station in life. Through these portals she led him into the city where he saw eighteen palaces built of precious stones, with regulations as to who might enter them and at what times and for what business. Seeing all these wonders, he cried out,

O beautiful maiden, tell me your name and to whom this city belongs and after whom it is named. And she answered briefly, "I am called *Rhetoric*. This city is named *Practica dictatoria*. Although my sister Grammar says that she is my equal in this city, nevertheless I have supreme authority, and since I have but few good citizens, I give you the keys to the seven portals representing all the doctrines of the *ars dictaminis*, on conditions that you open them faithfully to all who wish to enter."

Ponce concludes: "Therefore let all those come to me who in a short time desire to be the best *dictatores*; for I am he who has the keys and I am ready to open to all who are fit."⁴⁴

Many students must have been enticed away from their ancient classics by this flowery appeal which exalted the *ars dictaminis* high above grammar.

⁴³ "Amico suo carissimo, C., dilectus et compatriota suus, B., magis utilibus minus utilia posthabere. Vir discretus honesta sequitur et ea maxime que majorem fructum prestare debeant et honorem. Quos ducit mollicies etatis insipide et infelix lascivia, theatrales, se conferunt ad meretriculas et cum molli versiculo nimisque tenero pruritus generant auditori cuilibet. . . . Vero enim vero qui dictandi secuntur scientiam, ad reges veniunt et prelatis ecclesie traduntur a regibus, ad honores ecclesiasticos interventus sui potentia promovendi." Valois, *De arte scribendi epistolas* (Paris, 1880), 25-26.

⁴⁴ "O virgo speciosissima, dic michi nomen tuum, et ejus est ista civitas, et quo nomine nuncupatur.' Et ipsa respondit breviter: 'Ego vocor Rethorica; ista civitas apellatur Practica dictatoria. Et quamvis soror mea Gramatica se dicat fore in hac civitate meam proporeionariam [*sic*: porcionariam?], ego tamen optineo principatum. Et quoniam paucos bonos habitatores habeo, tibi claves accommodo, tali federe quod predictas vii portas, per quas tota doctrina epistolaris dictaminis figuratur, aperias fideliter et benigne volentibus.' Ad me veniant igitur qui esse desiderant in brevi tempore optimi dictatores. Ego enim sum qui claves habeo et sum paratus quibuscunque ydoneis aperire. Valet." This letter accompanied the *Summa de dictamine* of Ponce which appeared in 1249 and 1252. It was first printed by L. Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, VII (1869), 150-152.

Ponce boldly promised his students that he would pass by the fables of the authors and lead them directly to that pearl of knowledge, the *ars dictaminis*.⁴⁵

Next to the money-making "Lombards," Henri d'Andeli hated the physicians who built them fine houses in Paris from the fees they collected for their poisons.⁴⁶ Unfortunately the history of medicine in the Middle Ages is still very largely a sealed book.⁴⁷ Consequently, it would be very difficult to measure the degree of competition between this lucrative study and the ancient classics in medieval schools and universities. The hatred of physicians on the part of our poet naturally recalls Petrarch's aversion for the same class, which seems to indicate a general restlessness on the part of humanists in the presence of numerous financially successful disciples of Galen and Hippocrates. The interest in medicine in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cannot be studied apart from the interest in the natural sciences generally, another subject which is still awaiting the pioneer historian.⁴⁸ At present it is safe to say scarcely more than that there was as distinct a rise and as sudden a decline of interest in the natural sciences as in the ancient classics. Interest in the sciences, however, was still on the upward curve at the time when the classics were already on the downward curve, and hence the classics probably suffered from the popularity of the natural sciences in the thirteenth century in some such a way as they do today. The "New Aristotle" could not fail to arouse new interest in the physical world. We have already seen how eagerly the arts students of the first half of the thirteenth century read the Aristotelian books of nature as "philosophy."⁴⁹ The broadening of the old *quadrivium* foreshadowed a new era in science. Timid minds feared the unholy curiosity about the hidden secrets of nature. Jacques de Vitry preached to the students of Paris against the branches of the *quadrivium* as vain learning in the same sermon in which

⁴⁵ "Ineipiunt dictamina magistri Poncii. Universis scolaribus qui decorari cupiunt epistolaris dictaminis scientia gloriosa P. Magister in dictamine salutem et neglectis actorum fabulis ad margaritam dictaminis properare." C. Thurot, *Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au Moyen Age*, = vol. XXII, part 2 of *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques* (Paris, 1868), p. 39.

⁴⁶ See below, pp. 45-47, ll. 99-129.

⁴⁷ The present state of scholarship on the subject is outlined in the "Literaturbericht" of Paul Diepgen, "Geschichte der Medizin: Eröffnungsbericht," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, X (1913), 465-480.

⁴⁸ Recent, but brief and inadequate, sketches may be found in F. Strunz, *Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1910); F. Dannemann, *Die Naturwissenschaften in ihrer Entwicklung und in ihrem Zusammenhange*, I (Leipzig, 1910). See also the introduction of Ch.-V. Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen âge*. (Paris, 1911).

⁴⁹ See above, p. 20.

he denounced the ancient classics.⁵⁰ Students dissatisfied with instruction in the sciences in Western Christendom travelled abroad to study. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Englishman Daniel de Morlai went to Spain to learn sciences from the famous Arab teachers at Toledo.⁵¹ Henri d'Andeli associated Naples with Toledo when he thought of necromancy.⁵² The island home of Frederick II should be searched with the utmost care by the historian of medieval natural sciences, for that was the clearing-house of scientific notions of the day.⁵³ Perhaps such a study would reveal the relations of England with Sicily and the Mediterranean world generally, and would throw some light on the truly remarkable scientific works of the Englishmen, Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon. At a time when an Albertus Magnus could be an important botanist, and when the experimental method was an open secret, the popularity of natural sciences might well be feared by humanists who were being pushed to the wall by so many other interests.

In the thirteenth century, as in previous and subsequent centuries, the ancient classics were sometimes opposed by strict clerical feeling which decried them as useless and dangerous heathen products. Alexander of Villedieu, a grammarian of Paris about 1200, strongly voiced this sentiment in the following direct attack on the humanists of Orleans:

Orleans teaches us to sacrifice to the gods, pointing out the festivals of Faunus, of Jove, and of Bacchus. This is the pestiferous chair of learning, in which, according to the testimony of David, sits no holy man, avoiding the baleful doctrine, which, as in Orleans, is like a disease spreading contagion among the multitude. Nothing should be read which is contrary to the Scriptures.⁵⁴

One of the reasons why Alexander of Villedieu wrote his famous grammar, called the *Doctrinale*, was to check the tendency to read objectionable literature

⁵⁰ *Sermo coram scholaribus*. Referred to by Denifle, *Die Universitäten* (Berlin, 1885), I, 100.

⁵¹ See Helinandus' reference to Toledo above, p. 17, note 21.

⁵² See below, p. 48, ll. 130-132.

⁵³ We need a new work on Michael Scot. H. Niese, "Zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens am Hofe Kaiser Friedrichs II.," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII (1912), 473-540, has shown how untrustworthy is J. W. Brown, *An inquiry into the life and legends of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh, 1897).

⁵⁴ "Sacrificare deis nos edocet Aurelianus.
Indicens festum Fauni Iovis atque Liei.
Hec est pestifera, David testante, cathedra,
In qua non sedit vir sanctus, perniciosam
Doctrinam fugiens, que, sicut habetur ibidem,
Est quasi diffundens multis contagia morbus.
Non decet illa legi que sunt contraria legi."

Ecclesiale, Prologue, Bibl. Nat. MS Lat. 14927, fol. 164. This portion of the prologue is printed by Thurot, *Notices et extraits*, XXII, pt. 2, 115. For Alexander of Villedieu, see D. Reichling, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei* (Berlin, 1893; *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XII).

in the schools. He aimed particularly at the *Elegies* of Maximianus,⁵⁵ and hoped that the *Doctrinale*, with its copious illustrative material, would drive the harmful trifles of Maximianus out of the schoolrooms. Some of the best disciples of the famous schools of Chartres, notably Peter of Blois (d. 1204), seriously injured the cause of the classics by writing light and scurrilous verses, which the moralists of the age pointed to as the result of familiarity with the Roman poets.⁵⁶ Even in the anonymous list of books mentioned above,⁵⁷ which recommends so many Latin classical writers, a note of warning is sounded not to let youth gather those flowers of literature among which a serpent lies hidden.⁵⁸ Henri d'Andeli himself confessed that the cause of the authors would have been stronger if it were not for the questionable fables taught in connection with them.⁵⁹

Curiously enough, Henri d'Andeli included as allies of grammar certain Latin masterpieces of his day which actually became serious rivals of the ancient classical poets. In the twelfth century much excellent Latin poetry was written which deservedly became popular. Just as the pagan poets were often crowded out of the schools by the early Christian poets, such as Prudentius and Sedulius, so the works of medieval authors frequently displaced the classics or at least were read side by side with them. These new poems were written in a style that resembled the spoken Latin current at the time and some of them had distinct literary value. We still sing some of the grand Latin hymns of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In his poem Henri d'Andeli mentions several long poems which were very popular in his day: the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Lille, the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme, the *Archithrenius* of Jean de Hauteville, the *Anti-Claudianus* of Alain de Lille, and the *Aurora*, or versified bible, of Peter

⁵⁵ Maximianus lived about 600 A.D. The most recent edition with full bibliography is that by R. Webster, *The Elegies of Maximianus* (Princeton Press, 1900). H. F. Haase, *De mediæ ævi studiis philologicis*, 1856, 20–24, thinks that works of this kind were tolerated because they were explained allegorically; see E. Michael, *Culturzustände des Deutschen Volkes während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, III (1903), 286, note 3. Also see G. L. Hamilton, "Theodulus; a medieval text-book," *Modern Philology*, VII (1909), 177; and R. Ellis, "On the Elegies of Maximianus," *American Journal of Philology*, V (1884), 1–15, especially pp. 7 ff.

⁵⁶ Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 315–17.

⁵⁷ Page 15.

⁵⁸ "Placuit tamen viris autenticis carmina amatoria cum satiris subducenda esse a manibus adolescentium, ac si eis dicitur,

'Qui legis flores et humi nascencia fraga,
frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba.'"

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge MS 385, p. 49. Now printed by C. H. Haskins in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX, 91.

⁵⁹ See below, p. 52, ll. 254–7.

Riga. Apparently he did not foresee that the multiplication of such Latin books would ever injure the cause of the ancient classics. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, however, Henry of Ghent (d. 1295) wrote that in his day the *Alexandreis* was read to such an extent that on its account the ancient poets were neglected.⁶⁰ In the fourteenth century it was still read in universities of southern France from which the Latin classics had long ago vanished.⁶¹

Since Henri d'Andeli did not suspect the competition of recent Latin books with the classics, he naturally could not foresee that some day masterpieces would be written in the vernaculars of Europe which would seriously crowd the ancient classics. We cannot, in justice, take him to task on account of lack of such foresight, for he lived before Dante made the momentous decision to write his *Divine Comedy* in the vernacular. The fact that the *Battle of the Seven Arts* is written in French foreshadows that rivalry which must have smouldered even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and which burst forth in flame in the French Academy in the time of Louis XIV.

There may have been other causes of the decline of interest in the classics which our poet, who lived in the midst of them, failed to see and which we have hitherto failed to diagnose. It should be remembered that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries comprised an era of great material development. In many ways a "backwoods" Europe was being transformed into a Europe with large, well-built cities and highways for travel and commerce. The crusades had ushered in the period of expansion which one day was to lead to the finding of new worlds. This practical, feverishly active commercial age did not create the best conditions for purely humanistic pursuits. It is always well worth while to reflect upon the bearing which general conditions of life may have upon such a particular subject as we have in hand.

But we must not even appear to be giving the impression that Henri d'Andeli lacked perspicacity. Let us turn to his curious poem to see for ourselves how clearly he saw the drift of scholarship in the thirteenth century.

⁶⁰ "Scripsit [Gautier] gesta Alexandri Magni eleganti metro. Qui liber in scholis grammaticorum tantae dignitatis est hodie, ut prae ipso veterum poetarum lectio negligatur." *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, cap. 20. See G. Meier, *Die Sieben Freien Künste im Mittelalter* (Einsiedeln, 1885-87), 29.

⁶¹ At the University of Toulouse lectures were given "de Historiis Alexandri" in 1328, which probably signifies the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Lille. Fournier, *Les statuts et privilèges des universités françaises* (4 vols.; Paris, 1890-94) I, 501.

3. THE POEM AND THE AUTHOR

La Bataille des VII Ars of Henri d'Andeli was unknown until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when le C^{en} Legrand d'Aussy gave an incomplete abstract of it with an interesting introduction and explanatory notes.⁶² This secured it a brief mention in the *Histoire littéraire de la France* in 1824, by Daunou, who spoke very slightly of it.⁶³ However, the poem was printed in 1839 by Jubinal, in an appendix to the works of Rutebeuf.⁶⁴ When the *Histoire littéraire* again took notice of it in 1856 (XXIII, 225), the tone was more respectful and the commentator even vouchsafed to add a brief abstract. It continued to be the fashion, however, to give scant attention to the poem⁶⁵ until A. Héron brought out a new edition in 1880.⁶⁶ This was a great improvement upon that of Jubinal. Besides, Héron's introduction and notes are exceedingly helpful. Unfortunately, this excellent edition had such a limited circulation

⁶² "La bataille des Sept Arts, Fiction Critique et Satirique, par Henri, d'Andeli, tirée des Mss. 7218, au f^o 135, et S. Germ. n^o 1830, au fol. 112 v^o." *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* (Paris, An VII [1800]) V, 496-511.

⁶³ In a long article entitled "Discours sur l'état des lettres en France au XIII^e siècle," XVI, 217, Daunou calls the *Battle of the Seven Arts* "une sorte d'épopée burlesque, à peu près dans le goût de la Défaite des bouts-rimés de Sarazin," and then characterizes it thus: "Nous pourrions ranger cette production à la suite des poèmes épiques ou romanesque, si elle ne roulait sur des controverses scholastique, et si elle n'était d'ailleurs d'une extrême insignifiance."

U. Chevalier, *Repertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age; Bio-Bibliographie* (Paris, 1905) I, 2054, gives references to some early articles on Henri d'Andeli which were inaccessible to me. See, in addition, a summary of the poem by A. de Foulques de Villaret, *L'enseignement des lettres et des sciences dans l'Orléanais* (Orléans, 1875), 118-121.

⁶⁴ A. Jubinal, (ed.) *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf* (1839), II, 415-435. Second edition, 1875, III, 325-347 (Bibliothèque Elzevirienne). In vol. 1, 87, note 2 of this edition, Jubinal briefly summed up the conditions which gave rise to the poem. This note forms the introduction to a rare reprint entitled *La querelle des anciens & des modernes au XIII^e siècle, ou La Bataille des VII Arts*, par Henri d'Andeli, trouvère du temps de Saint Louis. Paris, chez Frédéric Henri, Libraire, 1875. Extrait du troisième et dernier volume des *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, trouvère du treizième siècle, faisant partie de la Bibliothèque Elzevirienne. Tirage à cent exemplaires seulement."

⁶⁵ See e.g. Victor Le Clerc, *Histoire littéraire de la France au quatorzième siècle* (ed. 2; Paris, 1865) I, 430. R. v. Liliencron, "Über den Inhalt der allgemeinen Bildung in der Zeit der Scholastik," Festrede gehalten in der Sitzung der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, 1876, 47, had enough penetration to recognize that the poem has some value. He gave a brief abstract of its contents.

⁶⁶ *Œuvres de Henri d'Andeli, trouvère Normand du XIII^e siècle*. Publiées avec introduction, variantes, notes et glossaire par A. Héron. Rouen, Imprimerie de Espérance Cagniard, 1880. (Société Rouennaise de Bibliophiles). See the important review of it by Gaston Paris in *Romania*, XI (1882), 137-144.

that careful workers like Willman,⁶⁷ Denifle,⁶⁸ Rashdall,⁶⁹ Norden,⁷⁰ and Sandys,⁷¹ failed to see it and still depended upon the faulty text of Jubinal.

Today the edition of Héron is so well noted that no specialist in the field could overlook it.⁷² Nevertheless, the poem of Henri d'Andeli is not known as widely as it should be, and its proper setting in the intellectual history of Europe has not been secured. In this age, when so much is said for and against the ancient classics, this long forgotten record of a similar contest in the thirteenth century should be pondered by all those who are interested in the literary treasures of ancient Greece and Rome and in the history of their preservation and their influence on modern civilization. The following rendering into English is the first attempt to translate the poem into any language.⁷³ The translation does not claim to have any literary value; it simply attempts to be a faithful, line for line, prose reproduction of the contents of the original.⁷⁴ Even so, it is hoped that it will be found to be more helpful than the brief and incomplete abstracts of the poem which appear in the books just cited in the notes. This edition is addressed primarily to historians interested in the intellectual history of the Middle Ages, and, more widely, to the large class of scholars in various fields who are interested in the history of the ancient classics throughout the ages. Fortunately, it will also make some appeal to Romanic philologists, because the University authorities have kindly consented to reproduce the two extant manuscripts of the poem in facsimile. This makes it unnecessary to give a list of the numerous variant readings.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ *Didaktik als Bildungslehre* (Braunschweig, 1882) I, 267; (ed. 4, Braunschweig, 1909), 179.

⁶⁸ *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1885) I, 253, note 141.

⁶⁹ *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895) II, 138.

⁷⁰ *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898) II, 728.

⁷¹ *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge University Press, 1903) I, 650. Sandys cites Héron in his second edition of vol. I (1906), 677.

⁷² Gröber, *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1902) II, Pt. 1, 820, should be sufficient safeguard. Unfortunately, Gröber gives a wrong date of publication, 1881 instead of 1880.

⁷³ C. W. Stubbs, *Cambridge and its Story* (London, 1904), 68, translated about a score of the first lines.

⁷⁴ Professor Paul Shorey struck off a very happy rendering of lines 394-397:

"Soothed him up with lofty talk
And bore him up on high,
And ere that he had learnt to walk
Would teach him how to fly."

Classical Philology, VI (1911), 241. Perhaps, however, even this master of words would lose heart in some of the dreary and obscure reaches of the poem if he were to attempt to sustain such a style of translation.

⁷⁵ We take this opportunity to give special thanks to Professor Raymond Weeks of Columbia University for much valuable help in editing and translating the poem.

The poem has come down to us in two manuscripts written in the second half of the thirteenth century and now both in Paris.⁷⁶ Héron⁷⁷ has made a satisfactory analysis of all the extant manuscripts which contain the works of our poet. His work as an editor was considered very praiseworthy by Gaston Paris,⁷⁸ who made some corrections and offered suggestions utilized in this present edition, which is, however, based on an independent examination of photographs of the two manuscripts.⁷⁹

Little is known about the author of the *Battle of the Seven Arts*, Henri d'Andeli. The most painstaking researches on the part of Paul Meyer⁸⁰ and A. Héron⁸¹ have revealed only the merest fragments of information. Our trouvère wrote other pieces which have come down to us. The most famous of them is the *Lai d'Aristote*, which was very well known throughout the later Middle Ages when the name of its author had been forgotten. Two other poems belong to Henri d'Andeli, *La Bataille des Vins* and *Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe*.⁸² This was Philippe de Grève, who was chancellor of Paris from 1218 to 1236.⁸³ From the tone of *Le Dit* it is evident that Henri must have been a great admirer of the chancellor. When Henri speaks of a chancellor in the *Battle of the Seven Arts*, who *was* the best clerk in the Isle de France,⁸⁴ he probably refers to this Philippe and that would place the date of our poem after 1236. A *Henricus de Andeliaco* is mentioned under the date March 20, 1259, in the *Regestum visitationum* of Archbishop Eudes Rigaud of Rouen. This may well have been our poet, who may have attached himself to the archbishop after the death of his beloved Philip the cancellor in 1236. We have no knowledge

⁷⁶ Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 837, f. 135^b to f. 137^c; and 19152, f. 112^a to f. 114^b. The first of these presents the better and more complete text. Héron, 142, believes that both of them go back to a common source which is lost.

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, xcv ff.

⁷⁸ *Romania*, XI (1882), 137-144.

⁷⁹ MS 837, reproduced on plates I-VI, will be designated MS A; MS 19152, plates VII-X, MS B. In order to facilitate reference to the facsimiles, the lines have been numbered on the plates in the same way as in the text and translation. The numbers on the plates of MS B will indicate at a glance what lines are omitted in that manuscript.

⁸⁰ "Henri d'Andeli et le chancelier Philippe," *Romania*, I (1872), 190-215.

⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, vii ff. Héron added a few scraps of information in his edition of the *Chansons de Roger d'Andeli* (Paris, 1883), p. xxxvi, note 1.

⁸² F. Augustin, *Sprachliche Untersuchung über die Werke Henri d'Andeli's*, Nebst einem Anhang enthaltend: *La Bataille des Vins*, diplomatischer Abdruck der Berner HS (Marburg, 1886; also in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie*, XLIV). believes, with scarcely a show of reason, that Henri was not the author of *Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe*.

⁸³ Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I, p. xx.

⁸⁴ See below, p. 44, ll. 84-86.

about the death of Henri d'Andeli. He was a clerk, was well acquainted with the University of Paris, and was probably either a Norman or a Picard, although his French is that of the Isle de France.

All the circumstantial evidence tends to indicate that the *Battle of the Seven Arts* was written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.⁸⁵ It is for others to judge of its literary value and its place in the history of literature. Gaston Paris believed that the allegorical form of the poem was an imitation or rather a parody of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius.⁸⁶ Héron gives Henri d'Andeli rather high praise as one of the illustrious poets of his time.⁸⁷ We are content to remain thankful to him for one of the most enlightening and interesting glimpses we have into the intellectual history of the thirteenth century.

⁸⁵ See additional chronological data below in the notes on ll. 48, 52, 53, 54, 92, 101, 103, 106, 402.

⁸⁶ *Romania*, XI, 141.

⁸⁷ "par la finesse, la convenance, l'habileté de composition et, enfin, la variété qui distinguent ses œuvres, il me semble digne d'être placé à un rang élevé parmi les auteurs qui ont illustré le XIII^e siècle, époque à laquelle les lettres et les arts ont brillé d'un si vif éclat." *Op. cit.*, p. cxxi.

II. LA BATAILLE DES .VII. ARS

OF HENRI D'ANDELI, TROUVÈRE
OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

LA BATAILLE DES .VII. ARS

Paris et Orliens ce sont .ij.
 C'est granz domages et granz deuls
 Que li uns a l'autre n'acorde.
 Savez por qui est la descorde?
 5 Qu'il ne sont pas d'une science;
 Quar Logique, qui toz jors tence,
 Claime les autors autoriaux
 Et les clers d'Orliens glomeriaux.

THE BATTLE OF THE SEVEN ARTS

Paris and Orleans are at odds.
 It is a great loss and a great sorrow
 That the two do not agree.
 Do you know the reason for the discord?
 It is because they differ about learning; 5
 For Logic, who is always wrangling,
 Calls the authors authorlings
 And the students of Orleans mere grammar-boys.

N. B.—The notes are numbered according to the lines to which they refer.

7. The word *autor* or *auctor* (Latin *auctor* or *actor*) presents many difficulties. Du Cange throws no light on it whatsoever. In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries it usually signified "Latin poet," specifically, "ancient classical Latin poet." (See *Romania*, XI, 143). That is the meaning here. When the Latin classics ceased to be read in the course of the thirteenth century, the Latin word *auctores* or *actores* was applied to certain small reading-books such as Cato, Avianus, Aesop, etc., as in fourteenth century documents of the universities of Toulouse and Perpignan (Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 501; II, 678). Carré, *L'Enseignement Secondaire à Troyes* (Paris, 1888), 19, speaking of the first half of the fifteenth century, says that there were then eight or nine books that might be spoken of as *actores*. He names: (1) *Cato*, (2) *Theodulus*, (3) *Facetus*, (4) *Carmen de contempti mundi*, (5) *Tobias Mathai Vindocinensis*, (6) *Fabulae Esopi*, (7) *Alani parabola*, (8) *Floretus*. Consult G. L. Hamilton, "Theodulus: a mediaeval textbook," *Modern Philology*, VII (1910), 179 ff., on these *Auctores octo*. See also notes below, on lines 337, 338, 339. The vagueness of the meaning and history of this word emphasizes the great need of a new dictionary of medieval Latin. The lexicographer who is interested in the Latin usage of this word should consult Paetow, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities*, 53–55, and the literature referred to on those pages in the notes; also Murray, *New English Dictionary*, under the word *author*; Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 67, note 2; Fournier, "Les Bibl. des Col. de l'Univ. de Toulouse," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes*, LI, 472; *Notices et extraits*, XXII, pt. 2, 424–25; XXVII, pt. 2, 19.

8. The origin and form of the word *glomeriaux* have perplexed Héron (*op. cit.*, p. 135) and Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XI, 141). Fortunately the meaning is quite clear from an old institution of the University of Cambridge. In the thirteenth century there existed in Cambridge the office of *Magister Glomeriae*, a superintendent of the grammar-schools appointed by the Archdeacon of Ely. The grammar-boys over whom he had jurisdiction were called *glomerelli*. See Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 555, 598; Kaufmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten*, 1888, I, 320, note 1; Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 1898, II, 728, note 2; and the *Century Dictionary* and Murray's *New English Dictionary* under the words *glomerel* and *glomery*. The best account of the word *glomery* may now be found in the *Cyclopedia of Education*, edited by Paul Monroe, III (1912), 116.

Owing to the neglect of the study of language and literature in medieval universities, grammar, together with the reading of ancient classic and other literature, tended to be crowded out of the university curriculum into the preparatory or grammar schools, which had little or no connection with the universities. In some places, however, notably in Toulouse, there was a separate faculty of grammar in the University at least as early as the fourteenth century, and regular degrees in grammar were conferred. See Paetow, *The Arts Course*, 55–60.

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|---|----|
| | Si vaut bien chascuns .iii.j. Omers, | Each, she says, is well worth four Homers, | |
| 10 | Quar il boivent a granz gomers | For they drink huge bumpers | 10 |
| | Et sevent bien versefier | And are so skillful at versifying | |
| | Que d'une fueille d'un figuier | That about a single leaf of a fig-tree | |
| | Vous feront il .i. vers. | They will compose you fifty verses. | |
| | Mès il redient que por vers | But they retort that verily | |
| 15 | Qu'il clament la Dyaletique, | They call Dialectic, | 15 |
| | Par mal despit, quiqueliquie. | In evil spite, a cock-a-doodle-doo. | |
| | Cil de Paris, li clerc Platon, | As for those of Paris, the clerks of Plato, | |
| | Ne les prisent pas un bouton. | They do not think them worth a button. | |

9. *Omers* is the *Homerus latinus*, or *Iliados epitome*, or *Ilias latina*, a Latin paraphrase of Homer's *Iliad* in 1070 hexameters. It appears to have been written in the time of the first Roman emperors. Apparently it was used as a reading book even in the old Roman schools. The author seems to have been a certain Italicus. M. Schanz, in Müller's *Handbuch*, VIII, II, 2 (ed. 3, 1913), 118-123; G. Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 1912), 2 ff. See *Das altfranzösische Rolandslied*, edited by E. Stengel (Leipzig, 1900), lines 2615-16:

“——Co'st l'amirailz li vielz d'antiquité,
Tuz survesquiet et Virgilie et Omer——”

16. Both manuscripts read *quiquelique*, but we have followed the emendation of Gaston Paris, who pointed out that the line is short one syllable. (*Romania*, XI, 141.) *Quiqueliquie* is a derisive term of uncertain meaning. See Héron, 136; Ducange, *Glossaire françois*; and *Glossarium* under the word *archidiaconus*. In all probability it is an imitative word to designate the crowing of a cock, like the modern Spanish word *quiquiriqui* and the German *kikiriki*. Applied to logicians, it may refer to their loquaciousness, or to their haughty demeanor.

17. Plato was very much more popular in the eleventh and twelfth than in the thirteenth century, when he was well-nigh crowded out by Aristotle. Although only a fragment of the *Timaeus*, the *Phaedo* and the *Meno*, in Latin translations, were known at any period in western Europe during the Middle Ages, Plato was highly esteemed by the humanistic masters of the schools of Chartres and elsewhere. Thus Fulbert declared him “superior to all other thinkers of antiquity.” (Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 117 ff., 244 ff.). It should be recalled that when humanism again had its day in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Platonism once more rivalled Aristotelianism. (See Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums* (1893), II, 118 ff.).

The extant statutes of the medieval universities do not permit us to say that Plato was ever the subject of lectures. (Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 37, note 3). There can be no doubt, however, that he was still studied in Paris during the thirteenth century. The evidence in the *Battle of the Seven Arts* is supported by John Garland in his *Ars lectoria ecclesiae* (*Accentarius*), Bruges MS 546, fol. 77 r°, written in 1234:

“Parisius superis gaudens tamquam paradus
Philosophos alit egregios, ubi quicquid Athenae,
Quicquid Aristoteles, quicquid Plato vel Galienus
Ediderant, legitur; ubi pascit pagina sacra
Subtiles animas celesti pane refectas.”

See also his *Exempla honestae vitae*, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 10358, fol. 284 r° l. 20, and fol. 286 v° l. 9.

	Logique a les clers en ses mains,	However, Logic has the students,	
20	Et Gramaire rest mise au mains.	Whereas Grammar is reduced in numbers.	20
	Gramaire s'est molt coroucie;	Grammar is much wrought up;	
	Si a sa baniere drecie	And has raised her banner	[fields;
	Dehors Orlens, enmi les blez;	Outside of Orleans, in the midst of the grain-	
	La a el ses os assamblez.	There she assembled her army.	
25	Omers et li viex Claudiens,	Homer and old Claudian,	25
	Donaet, Perse, Preciens,	Donatus, Persius, Priscian,	

20. Both MSS read *s'est*, but we follow the emendation suggested by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XI, 141.

24. The army of Grammar will be seen to consist of the following, (1) Grammars: Priscian, Donatus, Martianus Capella, and the medieval authors, Alexander of Villedieu and Eberhard of Bethune; (2) Primary readers: Cato, Avianus, and Theodulus; also Orthography personified; (3) Ancient Classics: "Homer," Claudian, Persius, Juvenal, Horace, Virgil, Lucan, Statius, Terence, Ovid, Seneca and Martial; (4) Early Christian poets: Sedulius, Prosper, Prudentius, and Arator; (5) Medieval Latin poets: Jean de Hauteville, Matthew of Vendôme, Gautier de Châtillon, Peter Riga, Alain de Lille, Primat of Orleans, Bernard Sylvester, Pamphilus, and Gautier (?); (6) Various unknown poets of Orleans: Jean de St. Morisse, Odo, Garniers, and Balsamon.

Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 138, note 4, says: "Most of the Latin poets are mentioned in this composition, but few of the prose writers (Seneca is an exception), which shows that the classical culture of Orleans was far behind the level attained by Chartres in the preceding century. Even the most unintelligent study of the Latin Aristotle was better than that of the silver-age poets who absorbed the energies of the scholars of Orleans." Surely this judgment is too harsh. After all, the list includes Terence, Virgil and Horace. The omission of prose authors does not prove that they were never read in Orleans. Henri d'Andeli was a poet and hence he puts in action the poets, in whom he is particularly interested, as Legrand d'Aussy pointed out as early as 1800 (*Notices et Extraits*, V, 502).

25. For *Omers* see note above on line 9.

Claudian was a pagan poet born in Alexandria in the second half of the fourth century, famous as a panegyrist of Stilicho, Theodosius and others. He was one of Stilicho's dependents. Almost all his works are in Latin. His *In Rufinum* gave rise to the *Anti-Claudianus* of Alain de Lille; see below, note on line 327.

26. Donatus was a teacher of grammar in Rome about 350 A.D. He wrote two text-books, a primary grammar, the *ars minor*, and a larger treatise, the *ars grammatica* (or *major*), of which only the third part, the so-called *Barbarismus*, was read widely in medieval schools (See note on line 232, below). When grammarians cite Donatus without qualification, they always mean the *Ars minor*.

Priscian taught grammar in Constantinople about 500 A.D. and published his lectures as the *Institutionum grammaticarum libri xviii*. This grammar was designed for more advanced students. The first sixteen books came to be known as *Priscianus maior*. They deal with the eight parts of speech. The last two books, which treat of syntax, were called *Priscianus minor*. Donatus and Priscian had absolute sway in medieval schools until the twelfth century, when an attempt was made to improve the teaching of grammar by the introduction of new text-books designed for students who did not learn Latin in infancy as did the youth for whom Donatus and Priscian were written (See note on line 202, below).

	Cil bon chevalier autoristre	Those good author knights	
	Et cil bon escuier menistre,	And those good squires who serve them,	
	S'esmurent tuit avoec Gramaire	All set out with Grammar	
30	Quant ele issi de son aumaire.	When she went forth from her bookcase.	30
	Li chevalier d'Orliens s'esmurent	The knights of Orleans set out	
	Qui des armés aus autors furent:	Who were men-at-arms of the authors:	
	Mestre Jehans de Saint Morisse,	Master John of Saint Morisse,	
	Qui set ses autors a devise,	Who knows his authors as well as one could wish,	
35	Oede, Garniers, et Balsamon,	Odo, Garnier and Balsamon,	35
	Qui avoit escrit .i. saumon	Who had inscribed a salmon	
	Sor son escu, entre .ij. dars,	On his shield, between two dace,	
	D'un poivre chaut o les pennars,	With a hot pepper volant,	
	Plus noir que coille de provoivre,	Blacker than charcoal,	
40	Por les poissons roiaus de Loire	A relish for the royal fish of the Loire	40
	Et por boivre les vins d'Orliens	And for drinking the wines of Orleans	
	Qui nesses sanz gresse de fiens.	Which grow without the aid of fertilizers.	
	Lors n'i ot il ne geu ne ris,	Then without jest or laughter,	
	Lor chemin tindrent vers Paris.	They marched toward Paris.	
45	Dame Logique l'oï dire;	Dame Logic heard of it;	45
	Si cria toute plaine d'ire:	She cried out full of wrath:	
	"Lasse! j'ai perdu mes confors	"Alas! I lost my support	
	"Quant Raoul de Builli est mors."	"When Raoul de Builli died."	

Persius lived in Italy 34-62 A.D. This youthful moralist's satires were popular in the Middle Ages. See lines 94-96, below.

28. The knights are Homer, Claudian, and Persius; the squires are Donatus and Priscian.

35. John of Saint Morisse, Odo, Garniers, and Balsamon were either contemporaries of Henri d'Andeli or older poets who had a reputation in or about Orleans. A diligent search failed to reveal their identity. The guesses that have been made concerning them may be consulted in Héron, 138 ff. On Odo of Orleans (d. 1113), suggested by Héron, see also H. Wattenbach in *Sitzungsberichte der Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, (1891) 100-104. For Garniers consult also Clerval, *Les écoles des Chartres*, 320. See also Héron, 140-143, for interesting notes concerning the curious shield of Balsamon described in lines 36-42.

It has occurred to Professor G. L. Hamilton that the use of the name of Balsamon may be a bit of a mystification on the part of the poet. He wonders whether Henri d'Andeli, when he wrote l. 35, might have had in mind the following famous passage from the *Metamorphosis Goliae episcopi*, edited by T. Wright in *The Latin poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841, (*Camden Society Publications*), p. 28, lines 197-200.

"Celebrem theologum vidimus Lumbardum,
cum Yvone, Helyam Petrum, et Bernardum,
quorum opobalsamum, spiratos, et nardum,
et professi plurimi sunt Abaelardum."

48. Raoul de Builli. A Radalphus is mentioned as abbot of St. Victor of Paris in 1237, and again in 1248 as a ci-devant abbot of St. Victor. Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 159, 210. If this should turn out to be our Raoul, his dates would furnish a *terminus a quo* for the composition of the *Battle of the Seven Arts*.

Ses genz manda devers Tornai
 50 Par dant Pierron de Cortenai,
 Uns logiciens molt tres sages.
 La fu mestre Jehans li pages,
 Et Pointlasne, cil de Gamaches,

She marshalled her forces near Tournai
 Under Sir Pierre de Courtenai,
 A very learned logician.
 There was master John the rustic,
 And Pointlasne, he of Gamaches,

50

49. Tornai. Héron, 143, suggests that this refers to a house which the bishop of Tournai had near the wall of Philip Augustus on the ancient Rue Bordet or Bordelle (now Rue Descartes) which terminated in a gate of that name near the abbey of Sainte Geneviève. About 1350 a bishop of Tournai established the College of Tournai on that spot, near the College of Boncourt which was created about the same time. Later the two were joined with the College of Navarre. Today the Ecole Polytechnique occupies the site.

Thus we should picture the army of Logic drawn up on the hill of Saint Geneviève in Paris ready to march out towards Orleans. It will be seen that the army of Logic consisted of (1) The "*trivium*" and "*quadrivium*" accompanied by certain more or less obscure masters of Paris. Special mention is made of Rhetoric, represented by the Lombards, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. (2) Necromancy and Astrology. (3) Logic and Philosophy, represented by Aristotle's numerous books, Plato, Socrates, Porphyry, Boethius, Macrobius, and Gilbert de la Porrée. (4) Theology (relying for support on Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Bede, and Isidore). (5) Canon and Civil Law (the Novels, Code, and Digest). (6) Medicine and Chirurgy, represented by Hippocrates, Galen and a number of physicians of Paris.

50. Héron, 144, is sure that this Pierre de Courtenai was a canon of Paris and son of Pierre de Courtenai, who was emperor of Constantinople (d. 1219).

52. In 1231 Pope Gregory IX wrote to Louis IX not to be prejudiced against a certain *magistrum Johannem Pagium*. In Bibliothèque Nat. MS lat. 15652, a master Pagus is mentioned as a commentator on the *Sentences*, who most probably is identical with the Pagus mentioned above. In the same place appear the names of many other commentators on the *Sentences*, whose works, without exception, all antedate 1250. Hauréau, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIX, 564, refers to a work of Pagus entitled *Appellationes* or *Syncategoremata*, preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS lat. 11412 and 15170, but he wrongly places the author at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 145). The above dates help to fix the date of the *Battle of the Seven Arts*.

Pages must be translated "rustic," not "page." There are no instances of the latter meaning of the word until the fourteenth century. See Du Cange, *Glossarium* under the word "pagius," and Murray's *New English Dictionary* under "page."

53. The family bearing the curious name Pointlasne (*pungens asinum*—for the probable origin of which see Jubinal *Œuvres de Rutebeuf*, III [1875], 329) was very famous in Paris during the thirteenth century. Pierre de Limoges tells of a certain Jean Poinlane who earned his living as a butcher's boy, carrying a large platter through the streets of Paris. Later, when he became a self-made captain of industry and one of the richest men in Paris, he had this old platter mounted in gold and silver, and guarded it as a relic of his previous poverty. About the middle of the thirteenth century, his son became a celebrated doctor in the University and was known as John of Paris, who became a Dominican, not to be confounded with the famous orator of the same name, called Quidort, who died in 1306. (Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au Moyen Age*, 1886, 404, 405. See also P. Feret, *La faculté de théologie de Paris au moyen âge*, II, 519-21). A *frater Johannes Pungesasinum* is mentioned as a master of theology in a document of the University of Paris dated 1248. (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 210). We hear of a

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Mestre Nichole aus hautes naches.</p> <p>55 Cil troi levent trive et cadruve
Sor .i. grant char en une cuve;
Li bedel traioient le char.
Robert le Nain par grant eschar
Les poingnoit toz d'un aguillon;
60 Cheron le veil point el coillon.
Lors se mistrent tuit a la voie.
La ot maint paveillon de soie
Soz Mont Leheri lez Linaies;</p> | <p>Master Nicholas with the prominent buttocks.
These three put the trivium and quadrivium 55
In a tub on a large cart;
The bedels drew the cart.
Robert the Dwarf in great derision
Pricked them all with a goad;
He pokes old Cheron in the bag. 60
Then they all set out.
There was many a pavilion of silk
On Montlhéry near Linas;</p> |
|--|---|

William Pointlasne as early as 1226 (*ibid.*, 108), but the prominent business man of the family seems to have been Peter Pointlasne who sold property to Robert de Sorbonne in 1254 (*ibid.*, 271). The same transaction is mentioned in a grant by King Louis IX in 1257, the first reference concerning the founding of the Sorbonne (*ibid.*, 349). Denifle says that this Peter is often named in the Cartulary of the Sorbonne in the years 1254 to 1260. In 1282-83 we have a mention also of a Stephen Pointlasne (*ibid.*, 598).

It is very probable that the person referred to in our poem was John of Paris. The qualifying clause, "cil de Gamaches" (Gamaches is in the arrondissement d'Abbeville, Somme), led Héron to reject such a hypothesis, but "Gamaches" may have been some street or place in Paris. Perhaps one might venture to make this emendation, "cil des gamaches" = "he of the gaiters."

54. In a document of the University of Paris, dated 1248, among the masters of canon law is mentioned a certain *magister Nicholaus de Pondearche* (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 210. A note explains "i.e. Ponte Arche.") There is some reason for suspecting that this may be our Nicholas. See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under the word *Area* (10).

55. Henri d'Andeli is here guilty of a rather senseless reference to the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, almost as senseless as the unqualified statement in many modern books that the work in the arts course of medieval universities consisted of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. The *trivium* consisted of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. Now when Henri d'Andeli has made Grammar the commander-in-chief of one army, and Logic of the other, how can he speak so slightly of the *trivium* as a mere minor part of the army of Logic? The fact is that our poet did not have a clear idea of the specialization of studies that was the natural outcome of advanced work in medieval universities as it is in our universities today (See above, pp. 13 ff). Formerly the *trivium* and *quadrivium* had covered everything included in what we call arts and sciences. By the middle of the thirteenth century, however, the work in the arts course of universities had become so specialized, especially in logic and philosophy, that the old nomenclature no longer sufficed. We have experienced the same thing in our universities in regard to the so-called social sciences. Towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, the words *trivium* and *quadrivium* were still used in documents pertaining to the University of Paris (see Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 737, note IX, on "The University of Paris in A.D. 1204;" and, for 1215, Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 78 (see *quadrivialia*), but in the course of that century they practically disappeared as accurate descriptive terms for work in universities, and became scarcely more than figures of speech, as they are in this line of our poem.

63. Montlhéry, situated in the Arrondissement de Corbeil (Seine et Oise), not far from Paris, near the road to Orleans, was famous for its ancient strong castle, of which a tower is still standing. The old French name, Mont-le-heri, means "a rough and difficult ascent." At the commencement of the eleventh century the town and its dependencies fell into the hands of the

	La se firent de cruels plaies.	There they gave one another cruel blows.	
65	La Loi chevaucha richement	Civil Law rode gorgeously	65
	Et Decret orgueilleusement	And Canon Law rode haughtily	
	Sor trestoutes les autres ars.	Ahead of all the other arts.	
	Molt i ot chevaliers Lombars,	There was many a Lombard knight,	
	Que Rectorique ot amenez.	Marshalled by Rhetoric.	
70	Dars ont de langues enpennez	Darts they have of feathered tongues	70
	Por percer les cuers des genz nices	To pierce the hearts of foolish people	
	Qui viennent jouter a lor lices;	Who come to attack their strongholds;	
	Quar il tolent mains heritages	For they snatch up many a heritage	
	Par les lances de lor langages.	With the lances of their eloquence.	
75	Augustin, Ambroise, Grigoire,	Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory,	75
	Giroime, Bede, et Ysidoire,	Jerome, Bede, and Isidore,	
	Distrent a la Divinité	They quoted to Divinity as authorities	
	Qu'ele eschivast lor vanité.	That she might avoid their vanity.	
	Madame la Haute Science,	Madam Exalted Science,	
80	Qui n'avoit cure de lor tence,	Who did not care a fig about their dispute,	80
	Lessa les ars tençant ensamble.	Left the arts to fight it out together.	
	A Paris's'en vint, ce me sanble,	Methinks she went to Paris	
	Boivre les vins de son celier,	To drink the wines of her cellar,	

house of Montmorency. Towards the beginning of his reign, St. Louis was obliged to take refuge near Montlhéry when his barons revolted. Tradition has it that he fled from the castle of Montlhéry, making use of a secret underground passage, the entrance of which is now closed. He was rescued by the Parisians, who brought him safely to their city (*L'Art de vérifier les dates* [1818], XII, 130-7). Perhaps this episode induced Henri d'Andeli to make this castle figure so prominently in his poem.

Linas, a small village south of Montlhéry.

68. For the Lombard knights, marshalled by Rhetoric, see Introduction, above, p. 25.

75-76. It would not be difficult to find numerous passages in the works of all these fathers of the church, in which they state that theology is so far above all secular learning that it can well afford to keep aloof from squabbles among the arts. None of those mentioned were so consistent in this attitude as was Pope Gregory the Great, who wrote: "Nam sicut hujus quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs motusque et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo, ut verba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati." Migne, *Patr. lat.*, LXXV, 516B.

76. Héron, 148, justly remarks that Isidor of Seville (c. 570-636) might have been mentioned in support of grammar because his *Etymologiae* or *Origines* were much in vogue in medieval schools. A new edition has just appeared: *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1911) 2 vols. See the recent study by E. Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* (N. Y. Longmans, 1912); and C. H. Beeson, *Isidor-Studien in Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, IV, 2. Heft (München, 1913).

77. Note that our English word Divinity is still used in the sense of Theology, which has been lost in modern French.

83. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, I, 467, calls attention to the 'honest and moderate beer-drinking' that sometimes accompanied commencements in the faculty of theology.

	Par le conseil au chancelier,	According to the advice of the chancellor,	
85	Ou ele avoit molt grant fiance	In whom she had the greatest confidence	85
	Quar c'ert li mieldres clers de France;	For he was the best clerk in the Isle de France;	
	Mès d'un petit la tint a fole,	But in one trifle he considered her foolish,	
	Que quant el despute en s'escole	That when she holds disputations in his schools	
	El lesse la droite clergie	She abandons strict theological questions	
90	Et corne la philosophie.	And trumpets philosophy.	90
	Et li arcien n'ont mès cure	As for the arts students, they care for naught	
	Lire fors livres de nature;	Except to read the books of nature;	

84. In all probability this was Philippe de Grève who was chancellor of Paris 1218-1236. See Paul Meyer in *Romania*, I (1872), 194. Line 86 reads that "he was the best clerk in the Isle de France." Thus the year 1236 is usually taken as the *terminus a quo* of the composition of the *Battle of the Seven Arts*, because Philippe de Grève died in that year.

90. Lines 87-90 clearly show how even theology fell under the spell of the "New Aristotle."

91. Héron had ventured to say that "arcien" at first meant a master or student in arts, and that later it was restricted to a master or student in logic. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XI, 142) took him to task for that, saying that "arcien" always signifies a member of the faculty of arts, and is never restricted to designate a master or student in logic. We wish to come to Héron's aid. In Paris, as elsewhere, the study of language and literature was relegated to a rather low plane when logic and philosophy became dominant. Hence a distinction tended to grow up between those arts students who studied grammar and those who studied logic and philosophy. So little stress was laid on grammar in Paris that some time before 1366 it practically ceased to be a university requirement for the bachelor's degree in arts. Among other things, candidates were obliged to give oath that they had read both *Priscians*, but that oath might be dispensed with; likewise that they had studied in Paris in the faculty of arts for three years, but it was understood that this signified arts *without* grammar. When the *Doctrinale* and *Graecismus* became the prescribed books in Paris, it was sufficient if candidates for the bachelor's degree had read them in any other university or even in any other school where grammar was taught. (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, II, 678; III, 145). See also note on line 93 below.

In Toulouse and other universities of southern France, where grammar was never quite so much neglected as in Paris, the tendency was to have a faculty of grammar, distinct from the faculty of arts or logic. Special masters in grammar in Toulouse are mentioned as early as 1229. In 1311 a clear distinction was made between a grammar student and an arts student: "et tunc unusquisque licentiandus dare tenebitur, in die licentie sue, si sit grammaticus, artista vel medicus X solidos." (Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 472 [XXVII]). The same distinction obtained in Montpellier in 1242 (*ibid.*, II, 9), and in Bologna in 1250 (Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I, 205). For a full discussion of this point see Paetow, *The Arts Course*, 55-60. In the light of these documents it is not at all strange that Henri d'Andeli conceived of a battle between Grammar and Logic, and that he called the students of logic and philosophy "arcien," a term which he would not apply to the humanists of Orleans.

It surely is very curious that, until recently, in our modern universities, the A. B. degree was given, almost without exception, only to students who had made some progress in ancient classical belles-lettres, a condition of affairs diametrically opposed to that in the universities of the thirteenth century.

92. Previous editors have taken the "books of nature" to mean the *Physics* of Aristotle. That definition is too restricted. The "New Aristotle" (see above, p. 20) which made such a

	Et la gent Gramaire perverse	While the grammarians perverse	[sius,
	Ront lessié Claudien et Perse,	Have for their part forsaken Claudian and Per-	
95	.ij. molt bons livres anciens,	Two very good old books,	95
	Les meillors aus gramairiens;	The best belonging to the grammarians;	
	Tuit font la contralietez	All are in opposition	
	De la bone ancienetez.	To good antiquity.	
	Fisque, Ypocras, Galien,	Medicine, Hippocrates, Galen,	

stir in Europe in the thirteenth century, included the *Metaphysics*, and a considerable number of books dealing with the natural sciences, such as the *Physics*, *Meteors*, *On the Heavens and the Earth*, *On Generation and Destruction*, *On the Cause of the Motion of Animals*, and most of the group of smaller treatises usually referred to as the "Parva Naturalia." This is the meaning of the "libri naturales" mentioned in the prohibition of 1210: "Nec libri Aristotelis de naturali philosophia nec commenta legantur Parisius publice vel secreto, et hoc sub pena excommunicationis inhibemus." (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 70) and that of 1215: "Non legantur libri Aristotelis de *methafisica* et de *naturali philosophia*, nec *summe* de eisdem," (*ibid.*, 78), as well as in the famous circular letter of the new University of Toulouse in 1229: "Libros naturales, qui fuerant Parisius prohibiti, poterunt illic audire qui volunt nature sinum medullitus perscrutari," (*ibid.*, 131). The best account of the introduction of Aristotle in western Europe is that by P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au XIII^e Siècle* (2 vols. ed. 2, Louvain, 1909, 1911) I, chs. I-II, to be supplemented by C. H. Haskins, "A List of Text-Books from the Close of the Twelfth Century," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX (1909), 75-94.

From the sentence in the circular letter of the University of Toulouse just quoted, one is inclined to infer that *La Bataille des VII Ars* could not have been written before 1229. Besides, Roger Bacon believed that the "libri naturales" of Aristotle were not taught in Paris until the dispersion and return of the University of Paris, 1229-31. Neither the prohibitions of the books of Aristotle, nor the words of Bacon must be taken too seriously, but the beginning of such a universal use of these books, as is indicated by this line of our poem, very probably came between 1229 and 1255, when they were formally prescribed in the Faculty of Arts. Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 278. See also Mandonnet, *op. cit.*

93. The "grammarians" whom Henri d'Andeli scolds may have been teachers and students of grammar in Paris as well as in Orleans. See, for example, the position of John Garland, a master of grammar in Paris, at the time when the *Battle of the Seven Arts* was written. Above, p. 16.

99. We have spoken of our present meagre knowledge about medicine in the Middle Ages (above, p. 27). Little can be said about the teaching of medicine at the University of Paris. The words of Henri d'Andeli about physicians are considerably illuminated by the dissertation of F. Laue, *Über Krankenbehandlung und Heilkunde in der Litteratur des alten Frankreichs* (Arnstadt, 1904; consult his bibliography). See also H. Berthaud, *Les médecins et chirurgiens des rois capétiens du 11^e au 13^e siècle* (Poitiers, 1907), which has a promising title. Unfortunately, the book is out of print and was not accessible.

In the thirteenth century a distinction was commonly made between physicians (*fisiciens*—the French *médecins* does not come in until the fourteenth century), surgeons, and apothecaries. The surgeons were generally looked down upon by the physicians, as indeed they have been until the recent phenomenal advance in surgery. Physicians were often called "mires" in old French.

100	Et cil hardi eirurgien, Cil de rue nuëve, Robert, Et cil de Glatini, Hubert, Et mestre Pierres li Lombars Qui Paris triche par ses ars,	And those bold surgeons, He of the Rue Neuve, Robert, And he of Glatigny, Hubert, And master Peter the Lombard Who tricks Paris with his arts,	100
105	Et Giraut, .i. autres deables, Et mestre Henri de Venables, Et Raoul de la Charité, Petit Pont et lor vanité,	And Gerald, another devil, And master Henry of Venables, And Raoul of the Charité, Little Bridge and their vanity,	105

The works of the Greek writers on medicine, Hippocrates (4th Cent. B.C.) and Galen (2nd Cent. A.D.) began to be widely read in western Europe, usually in Latin translations, towards the middle of the eleventh century and inaugurated some such a change in the study of medicine as the "New Aristotle" caused in logic, philosophy, and theology.

101. This probably was Robert de Douai, canon of Senlis, physician to Louis IX, or to the queen Marguerite. He was a friend of Robert of Sorbonne and in 1254 sold some property on the site of the Sorbonne (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 270-272). In the same year, Pope Innocent IV employed him to assist in allaying the quarrel between the university and the Preaching Friars (*ibid.*, I, 266). In 1258 Robert made his testament, leaving to the Sorbonne a sum of money and all his books. In this document he is called a *physicus* (*ibid.*, I, 372). He was dead in 1260 (*ibid.*, I, 411, note 1). If Henri d'Andeli had this Robert in mind, it is strange that he called such a prominent man a surgeon. Perhaps he did it for spite. It is noteworthy that MS B omits lines 101-2, as well as lines 111-123. Héron also calls attention to a Robert, canon of Champeaux en Brie, physician to Étienne, bishop of Paris, mentioned by Guérard, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, I, 212, in the year 1279.

The Rue Neuve [Notre Dame] was in the Cité, that is, the island in the Seine, and had been opened in the twelfth century. L. Halphen, *Paris sous les premiers capétiens (987-1223)* (Paris, 1909) 97.

102. The Rue de Glatigny was also a street in the Cité. Halphen, *op. cit.*, 87. Héron, 150, says "seemingly of evil repute."

103. A Peter Lombard was physician to King Louis IX; afterward he became canon and sub-deacon of Chartres. Héron, 150, and Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 345.

106. Venables is a village in the department of Eure, not far from Andelys, in Normandy. In the *Registrum Visitationum* of Eude Rigaud is mentioned a *Henri*, physician to the archbishop, who may have been well known to Henri d'Andeli. Héron, 151.

107. *La Charité* may have been a hospital, for hospitals were by no means unknown in Paris in the thirteenth century. The *Hôpital de la Charité Chrétienne* was founded by Margaret of Provence, widow of Louis IX, but that was after the date of *The Battle of the Seven Arts*.

108. In the early days of the University of Paris, all instruction was given in and about the cathedral school on the island of the Seine, the Cité. The great increase of masters and students led some masters to establish themselves on the Petit Pont (Little Bridge), lined on both sides with houses, which joined the island with the left bank of the Seine. Subsequently this left bank received the overflow and became the Latin Quarter. Many masters of the twelfth and thirteenth century were named after the bridge on which they taught. Thus we have an Adam of the Little Bridge, a John, Gilbert, William, Peter, and Gautier. The Little Bridge became very famous in scholastic song and story. Guido de Bazoches (1175-90) said that "*Pons autem*

	Trestuit tornaissent au gaaing	They all would turn to money making	
110	S'il i veissent nul mehaing.	If they saw in it no danger.	110
	Cirurgie, la vilenastre,	Villainous Chirurgy	
	Se seoit lez .i. sanglent astre,	Was seated near a bloody cemetery.	
	Qui molt amoit miex les descordes	She loved discord much better	
	Qu'el ne fist les gentiz concordes.	Than bringing about nice concord.	
115	Boistes portoit et oingnemenz,	She carried boxes and ointments,	115
	Et granz plentez de ferremeniz	And a great plenty of instruments	
	Por sachier les quarriaus des pances.	To draw arrows from paunches.	
	Molt avoit tost retaconnez	It did not take her long to patch up	
	Les ventres qu'el vit baconnez:	The bellies she saw pierced:	
120	S'est cele science del mains.	However, she is a science.	120
	Mès ele a si hardies mains	But she has such bold hands	
	Qu'ele n'espargne nule gent	That she spares no one	
	Dont ele puist avoir argent.	From whom she may be able to get money.	
	Je les tenisse por molt preus	I would have had much respect for them	
125	S'il m'eüssent gari des iex;	If they had cured my eyes;	125
	Mès il cunchient mainte gent,	But they dupe many people,	
	Que des deniers et de l'argent	While with the copper and silver	
	Qu'il reçoivent de lor poisons	Which they receive for their poisons	
	Font il a Paris granz mesons.	They build them fine houses in Paris.	

Parvus aut pretereuntibus, aut spatiantibus, aut disputantibus logicis didicatus est'' (Denifle et Chatelain *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 56). An interesting reference to the bridge and its fame is found in *Raoul de Cambrai; Chanson de geste*, publ. par P. Meyer et A. Longnon (*Soc. des anc. textes français*, 44, Paris, 1882), lines 5482-88:

''Crient le fu, ci fu lues alumez,
Et en Paris par les rues boutez
Jusq'au palais dont vos oï avez;
Dès le Grant Pont ou avalent les nez
Jusqu'au Petit qui tant est renommez
N'i a le jor de toz avoirs remez
Dont .j. vilains poist estre encombrez.''

The reference to the Little Bridge in *The Battle of the Seven Arts* is very enigmatical. The masters of the Petit Pont were usually renowned for logie, but here Henri d'Andeli is speaking of physicians. Perhaps the thought is that even logicians would turn to making money if they could find ways and means.

125. Henri d'Andeli must have been a jolly old trouvère, for he attributes his bad eyes to his partiality for the fine wine of Saint-Jean d'Angély. He says in *La Bataille des Vins* (lines 123-126), Héron, 27:

''Li vins S. Jehan d'Angeli
Si dist a Henri d'Andeli
Ou'il li avoit crevé les ex
Par sa force, tant estoit prex.''

129. The universal suspicion with which physicians were regarded in medieval France is well illustrated by numerous quotations, in Laue, *Die Krankenbehandlung und Heilkunde in der Litteratur des alten Frankreichs*, 95-133.

130	De Toulete vint et de Naples, Qui des batailles sot les chaples, A mienuit la Nigremance, Qui lor dist bien lor mesestance: Que chascuns ait la teste armée,	From Toledo came and from Naples, She who knew the carnage of battles, At midnight, Necromancy, Who clearly told them their evil destiny: That everyone should arm his head,	130
135	Qu'ele avoit gardé en l'espée. En .i. quarrefor fist .i. feu, Lez .i. cerne, entre chien et leu. La ot .ij. chas sacrefiez Et .ij. coulombiaus forviez	Which destiny she had divined in the sword. At a cross-road she made a fire, Near a circle, at twilight. There she had sacrificed two cats And two stray pigeons	135
140	Par la malisne deité Por encerchier la verité. La fille dame Astrenomie, Qui de lor maus lor fu amie, Lor dist molt bien que la bataille	In the name of the malign deity To search out the truth. The daughter of Madam Astronomy, Who was an accomplice in their evil deeds, Told them very well that the battle	140
145	Ert lendemain sanz nule faille. Arismetique sist en l'ombre, Ou ele dit, ou ele nombre, Que .x. et .ij. et .i. font .xiiij. , Et puis .iiij. après ce font .xvi. ;	Would occur tomorrow without fail. Arithmetic sat in the shade, Where she says, where she figures, That ten and two and one make thirteen, And three more make sixteen ;	145
150	.iiij. et .iiij. et puis .ix. arriere Refont .xvi. en la lor maniere; .xiiij. et .xxvij. font .xl. , Et .iiij ^{xx} . par eus font .lx. ; .v ^{xx} . font .c. et .x ^e . mil.	Four and three and nine to boot Again make sixteen in their way ; Thirteen and twenty-seven make forty, [sixty ; And three times twenty by themselves make Five twenties make hundred, and ten hundreds a thousand.	150
155	Monte plus li contes ? Nenil. L'en puet bien conter .m. milliers Par le conte qui est premiers Du nombre qui monte et descent, Qui en contant vient d'un a .c. .	Does counting involve anything further ? No. One can easily count a thousand thousands In the foregoing manner From the number which increases and diminishes, And which in counting goes from one to hundred.	155
160	De la fist la dame son conte,	The dame makes from this her tale,	160

130. The reputation of Toledo as the home of the occult sciences is well illustrated in the quotation from Helinand printed above, p. 17. The state of our fragmentary knowledge about medieval scholarship in Toledo and Spain at large may be learned from C. H. Haskins, "The translations of Hugo Sanetelliensis," *The Romanic Review*, II (1911), 1-15; and "Adelard of Bath," *English Historical Review*, July, 1911, 491-498. (Reviewed in *Bibl. de l'Ec. de Chartes*, LXXIII, 103-105). For Naples, and southern Italy and Sicily generally, see C. H. Haskins, "The Sicilian translators of the twelfth century and the first Latin version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*," and "Further notes on Sicilian translators of the twelfth century," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI (1910), 75-102, XXIII (1913), 155-166; also H. Niese, "Zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens am Hofe Kaiser Friedrichs II," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII (1912), 473-540.

142. The daughter of Madam Astronomy was Astrology.

153. The vulgar counted *trois-vingts* according to the vigesimal system, in opposition to the learned latin *soixante*; likewise *cinq-vingts* for *cent*. Henri d'Andeli ridicules the arithmetic of the schools.

	Que userier et prince et conte Aiment miex hui la conterresse Que la chançon de la grant messe. Arismetique si monta	That usurer, prince, and count Today love the counteress better Than the chanting of high mass. Arithmetic then mounted	
165	Sor son cheval et si conta Trestoz les chevaliers de l'ost; Et ele avoit a son acost Sa compaigne Giometrie Qui la refesoit sa mestrie.	Her horse and proceeded to count All the knights of the army; And she had at her side Her companion Geometry Who there again showed her skill.	165
170	Entre irois en une place Fist .i. compas de brieve espace, Et si dist qu'en .m. piez de terre Seroit finée cele guerre. Ma dame Musique aus clochetes	In a spot between the combatants She described a small circle, And said that within thousand feet of ground This war would be brought to a close. Madam Music, she of the little bells	170
175	Et si clere plain de chançonnetes Portoient gignes et vieles, Salterions et fleüteles; De la note du premier fa Montoient dusqu'en ce sol fa.	And her clerks full of songs Carried fiddles and viols, Psalteries and small flutes; From the sound of the first <i>fa</i> They ascended to <i>ce sol fa</i> .	175
180	Li douz ton diatesaron, Diapente, diapason, Sont hurtez de diverses gerbes. Par quarreüres et par trebles, Par mi l'ost aloient chantant,	The sweet tones diatessaron Diapente, diapason, Are struck in various combinations. In groups of four and three, Through the army they went singing,	180
185	Par lor chant les vont enchantant. Celes ne se combatent pas; Mès Donaet isnel le pas Ala tel cop ferir Platon D'un vers berseret el menton	They go enchanting them with their song. / These do <u>not</u> engage in battle; But Donatus without delay Dealt Plato such a blow On the chin with a feathered verse	185
190	Qu'il le fist trestout esbahir; Et dant Platon par grant air Le referi si d'un sofisme Sor l'escu, parmi une rime, Qu'il le fist trebuchier el fanc	That he frightened him thoroughly; And Sir Plato in great wrath Struck back at him so hard with a sophism Upon his shield, in the midst of a rhyme, That he made him tumble in the mud	190
195	Et le couvri trestout de sanc. Aristote fiert Precien Nostre haut pseudomme ancien Qu'il le fist a terre voler; Du cheval le volt defouler,	And completely covered him with blood Aristotle strikes Priscian Our noble ancient authority That he made him drop to the ground; He wanted to trample him under his horse,	195
200	Mès Preciens ot .ij. neveux Qui molt estoient biaux et preus, Dant Agrecime et Doctrinal;	But Priscian had two nephews Who were very handsome and brave, Sir Graecismus and the Doctrinale;	200

174. Héron, 154 ff., gives references to some standard works on musical instruments in the Middle Ages. See also *La musique au siècle de St. Louis*, par H Lavoix fils. (*Recueil de motets français*, II), 409 ff.

202. Until the twelfth century the grammars of Donatus and Priscian were the standard text books in the schools of medieval Europe. In that century an attempt was made to improve the

	Li escloperent son cheval,	They crippled him his horse,	
	De son cheval firent trepié.	And rendered the animal three-legged.	
205	Aristote, qui fu a pié,	Aristotle, who was unhorsed,	205
	Si fist cheoir Gramaire enverse.	Made Grammar tumble backwards.	
	Lors i a point mesire Perse,	Then pricked forward master Persius,	
	Dant Juvenal et dant Orace,	Sir Juvenal and Sir Horace,	
	Virgile, Lucan, et Estace,	Virgil, Lucan, and Statius,	
210	Et Sédule, Propre, Prudence,	And Sedulius, Propertius, Prudentius,	210
	Arator, Omer, et Terence:	Arator, Homer, and Terence:	
➤	Tuit chaplerent sor Aristote,	All smote Aristotle,	
	Qui fu fers com chastel sor mote.	Who stood firm as a castle on a hill.	
	Preciens o ses .ij. neveux	Priscian with his two nephews	
215	Li voloient crever les iex,	Tried to beat out his eyes,	215
	Quant Elenche et les .ij. Logiques,	When Sophistical Refutations and the two Logics,	

teaching of Latin grammar, especially syntax. This produced such a marked change that thenceforward we may with justice distinguish between the "old" and the "new grammar." New grammars were written in versified form, the most famous of which were the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu and the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune.

Alexander of Villedieu had been a student in Paris, and in 1199 wrote his *Doctrinale*, which comprises 2645 leonine hexameters. The work grew to be very popular and later became the butt of the scorn of the humanists. See D. Reichling, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei*, Berlin, 1893, (*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XII).

The *Graecismus* appeared in 1212. Like the *Doctrinale*, it was written in hexameter verse. Its peculiar name was derived from the chapter which treats of Greek etymologies. Although Eberhard himself did not know Greek, he thus helped to elucidate Greek words and constructions which had crept into medieval Latin through the Vulgate and the writings of the church fathers. See Wrobel, Eberhardi Bethuniensis *Graecismus*, Vratislaviae, 1887 (*Corpus grammaticorum mediæ ævi*, I).

For the history of the *Doctrinale* and *Graecismus* in medieval universities, see Paetow, *The Arts Course*, Chapter II.

210. Sedulius (5th Cent., A.D., *Carmen paschale*), Prosper of Aquitaine (5th Cent., *Carmen de ingratias*), Prudentius (348—c. 410, *Peri stephanon*), and Arator (6th Cent., *Epos de actibus apostolorum*) were all Christian poets very popular in the schools of the Middle Ages. On Arator in medieval schools, see *Romania*, XXXIX (1910), 84; and *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI (1911), 249.

211. For "Omer" see note on line 9, above.

216. The two *Logics* here seem to be the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, although the reference may be to the so-called "Old" and "New Logic," terms which became very current in the thirteenth century after the principal logical works of Aristotle, which were not known to Abelard e.g., had been revealed to western scholarship towards the middle of the twelfth century. (See Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*, I (1911), 9 ff.). The "New Logic" included the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophistical Refutations*. The "Old Logic" always comprised the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, the *Categories* and *On Interpretation*. With these were sometimes included the *Divisions* and *Topics* of Boethius and even the *Six Principles* of Gilbert de la Porrée (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 228, 278).

For a typical time-table of lectures in the arts course of medieval universities, including many of the books mentioned in this poem, see Paetow, *The Arts Course*, 96.

	Parealmaines et Topiques,	On Interpretation and the Topics,	
	Et livre de nature, Etique,	The books of nature, Ethics,	
	Dame Nigromance, Fisique,	Madam Necromancy, Medicine,	
220	Et dant Boëce et dant Macrobe	And Sir Boethius and Sir Macrobius	220
	Vestu d'une chetive robe,	Dressed in a caitiff garb,	
	Et Porfire vindrent le cors	And Porphyry, came on a run	
	Por fere Aristote secors.	To bring aid to Aristotle.	
	Li Lombart dame Rectorique	The Lombards of dame Rhetoric	
225	Poinstrent après Dialectique,	Rode hard after Dialectic,	225
	Ja soit ce que pas ne l'amoient,	Although they did not love her,	
	Quar de petit la connoissoient;	For they were but little acquainted with her;	
	Mès maint preudomme i mehaignierent	But they wounded many an honest man	
	Por l'avoir qu'il i gaaingnierent.	For the booty which they won there.	
230	Predicamenz et Sex Principes,	The Categories and the Six Principles,	230
	Dui bon achateur de tripes,	Two good buyers of tripe,	
	Poinstrent après dant Barbarime	Pricked after Sir Barbarismus	

217. Aristotle's works on logic—the *Organon*—comprise the *Categories*, *On Interpretation* (or *Periarmenias*), *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *Sophistical Refutations* (*De sophisticis elenchi*).

218. On the books of nature of Aristotle see note above on line 92.

Ethics here probably refers to the *Nichomachean Ethics* of Aristotle in ten books.

220. The poet probably was not referring to the famous *De consolazione philosophiae* of Boethius (d. 524), but to his *Divisions* and *Topics*, which were sometimes included in the "Old Logic." See note on line 216 above.

Macrobius (c. 400 A.D.) is placed in the army of Logic on account of his commentary on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*. His *Saturnalia* might have given him a place in the army of Grammar.

222. Porphyry of Tyre (233—c. 304 A.D.) was the most prominent pupil of Plotinus. His *Isagoge* is an introduction to the *Categories* of Aristotle and was used extensively in the schools of the Middle Ages as a portal into the works of the Stagirite.

224. For Rhetoric and the Lombards see above, pp. 24 ff. Aristotle and dialectic generally were by no means so popular in the universities of Italy as in Paris. Besides, the poet intimates that these practical money-mad disciples of the *ars dictaminis* would waste no more time on dialectic than on classical poetry. This explains lines 226–7.

230. The *Six Principles* are the *Liber sex principiorum* of Gilbert de la Porrée (Porretanus), born in Poitiers in 1070, where he died as bishop of that city in 1154. For more than twelve years he taught in the schools of Chartres. His *Six Principles* were designed to supplement the *Categories* of Aristotle, which are incomplete.

232. *Barbarismus* was the medieval name for the third part of the *ars grammatica*, or larger treatise of Donatus (see above, note on line 26). The name was derived from the first word of the third part which begins "Barbarismus est una pars orationis vitiosa in communi sermone." It is a short treatment (covering ten printed pages in Keil, *Grammatici latini*, IV, 392–402) on barbarisms, solecisms, and figures of speech. The twelfth chapter of the *Doctrinale*, on figures, covers the same ground (Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, 157–178). In documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the *Barbarismus* is ordinarily grouped with grammatical books (see e.g. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX, 1909, p. 92; Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris*,

	Qui chevauchoit soi cinquantime.	Who rode the fiftieth of the troop.	
	S'ert il homme lige Gramaire	He was liege man of Grammar	
235	Des meillors genz de son aumaire;	One of the best men of her book case;	235
	Mès il maintenoit cele guerre	But he favored this war	
	Qu'el país Logique avoit terre.	Because he held land from Logic.	
	Par trahison estoit tornez	By treason he was alienated	
	Por ce qu'il ert de Poitou nez.	Because he was a native of Poitou.	
240	Icele pesme gent amere	These bad, spiteful people	240
	Pointrent sor Gramaire lor mere.	Attacked Grammar, their mother.	
	Qui la veïst lances lancier	Ah! if you had seen them there throwing lances	
	Por ces bons autors espancier,	To disembowel these good authors,	
	Hochier testes et batre mains,	Shaking heads and beating hands,	
245	Et aus langues laschier les frains!	And loosening the reins on tongues!	245
	.M. quarriaus voloient ensamble	A thousand arrows flew at one time,	
	Peors que de sauz ne de tranble,	Worse than those made of willow or aspen,	
	Qu'il a plus venin en paroles	For there is more venom in words	
	Qu'en .c. m. maques foles.	Than in a hundred thousand silly sticks.	
250	Et li autor se deffendoient	The authors defended themselves	250
	Qui de granz plaies lor fesoient,	And struck them great wounds,	
	De caniveçons et de greffes,	With penknives and styluses,	
	De longues fables et de beffes.	Long fables and lies.	
	→ Lor chastiaus fust bien deffensables	→ Their castle would have been defensible enough	
255	S'il ne fust si garnis de fables;	If it had not been so stocked with fables;	255
	Qu'il enjoignent lor vanitez	For they palm off their nonsense	
	Par lor biaux mos en veritez.	As truth, by means of fine phrases.	
	Gramaire lor fiert .i. desciple	Grammar strikes one of their disciples	
	Parmi le cors d'un participle	In the body with a participle	
260	Qui le fist a la terre estendre,	Which felled him to the ground,	260
	Puis li dist: "Or alez aprendre."	Then to him said: "Now go and learn something."	
	Puis en fist .v. cheoir sor l'erbe	Then she stretched five more of them on the sod	
	Par la pointe de son averbe;	At the point of her adverb;	
	Mès dant Sortes la fist repondre,	But Sir Socrates made her hide,	
265	Qu'el ne pot pas a toz respondre.	For she could not answer all his questions.	265
	Vers ceus d'Orliens s'est adrecie,	She turned towards those of Orleans,	
	Qui l'ont longuement essaucie.	Who for a long time have exalted her.	
	En la profondece d'un val	From the depths of a valley	

I, 78. 228), but it was probably prized by the logicians because it contained valuable rules for conducting disputations, and hence Henri d'Andeli placed it in the army of Logic as a traitor to Grammar.

239. For this slur on the Poitivins, see Héron, 161. Dr. Jean Beck has also called our attention to *La bataille d'Enfer et de Paradis*, ll. 111 ff.

257. For this sly reference to objectionable fables, see above, p. 28.

264. Although Socrates left no writings, he was often alluded to in the Middle Ages. The name usually appears in Latin in the forms *Sortes*, *Sortis*, or merely *Sor.*, which has confused many editors of medieval documents. Thurot, *Doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge*, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXII, part 2, 106, 254.

	Li alaschierent son cheval	They brought forth her horse	
270	Qui soustenoit Ortografie,	Which was being held by Orthography,	270
	Le fondement de la clergie;	The foundation of learning;	
	Puis fist arriere ses retors	Then back with her authors	
	Dame Gramaire a ses autors.	Dame Grammar retreated.	
	Qui veïst logicïenïaus	Ah! if you had seen the logicians	
275	Comme il tuoient autorïaus	How they slew the authorlings	275
	Et fere ces destructions	And caused such havoc	
	Sor ces gentilz constructions!	Among those fine constructions!	
	Li sofistre les despoïent	The sophists despised them	
	Por ce que pas ne s'entendoient;	Because they did not understand each other;	
280	Que tant i ot de contredit	For there was so much contention among them	280
	Que pou set l'un que l'autre dit.	That the one knew little of what the other said.	
	.j. chevalier, Parealmaine,	One knight, On Interpretation,	
	Tua mon seignor Architraine,	Killed my lord Architrenius,	
	.j. des barons de Normendie;	One of the barons of Normandy;	
285	Emprès ce si tua Tobie.	After that he also slew Tobit.	285
	.iiij. en tua en .i. randon.	Four of them he killed in one onset.	
	Et <i>Gesta ducis Macedum</i>	Both the <i>Gesta ducis Macedum</i>	
	Et la Bible versifiée	And the versified Bible	
	Ra il d'un grant mail esmée.	He then cut to pieces with a huge battle-ax.	
290	Mès quant vint aus Patrenomiques	But when against the Patronymics	290
	Onques la mesnie Topiques,	Advanced the family of the Topics,	

283. The *Architrenius* (The Arch-weeper) is a lugubrious Latin poem of some merit by the Norman John de Hauteville, who spent much time in England and flourished near the end of the twelfth century. The poem is edited by T. Wright in *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century* (Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1872), I, 240-392.

285. The *Tobias* (ed. Müldener, 1855) of Matthew of Vendôme (d. c. 1200) is a Latin epic poem relating the history of the two biblical Tobits, father and son, and their wives, with many digressions and frequent prayers put into the mouths of the characters. In the fourteenth century, the *Tobias* was prescribed in the University of Perpignan (Fournier, *Statuts*, II, 678).

287. The *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Lille or de Châtillon (written 1176-1179; ed. Müldener, *Gualterus ab Insulis Alex.* 1863), begins, "*Gesta ducis Macedum totum digesta per orbem.*" (See Héron, 165, who first explained this line of our poem). This is a remarkable Latin epic poem of 5464 hexameters recounting the deeds of Alexander the Great. In most respects the poem is superior to the productions of the time. The style is good, the rules of prosody and metric are generally observed, and the author reveals his acquaintance with Virgil, Lucan, Statius, and Claudian. It abounds in allegory, with a queer mingling of Christian and pagan elements, but there is likewise much good imagery. Many manuscripts of the poem have come down to us. For its popularity in medieval schools see above, p. 29. See also H. Christensen, *Das Alexanderlied Walters von Chatillon*, Halle, 1905.

288. The *Aurora*, or versified Bible, is a vast poem of more than 15,000 elegiac verses, paraphrasing portions of the Bible, written by Peter Riga, a canon of Rheims, who died in 1209. Only small fragments of it have been published. The poem was very popular in the Middle Ages. See Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, xix.

291. By "family of the Topics," Henri d'Andeli probably wished to group the *Topics* of Aristotle, Cicero, and Boethius, all of which were read in medieval universities.

	Nes porent percier par effors, Tant sont Patrenomiques fors. Dant <i>Juste</i> et <i>Preterea</i>	They failed to force their way through, So strong are the Patronymics. Sirs <i>Juste</i> and <i>Praeterea</i>	
295	Si tuerent <i>propter ea</i> Le bon <i>Ego mei vel mis</i> , Qui estoit trop lor anemis, Qu'il ne sorent dont il venoit Ne comment il se declinoit.	For this reason killed The good <i>Ego mei vel mis</i> , Who was their great enemy, Because they did not know whence he came Nor how he was declined.	295
300	Quant Logique ot fet sa proesce, Si s'en revint a grant leesce A l'estandart, a sa baniere; Lor se trestrent li ost arriere. Astrenomie et Rectorique	When Logic had shown her prowess, She returned with great joy To her standard, to her banner; Then the army withdrew. Astronomy and Rhetoric	300
305	Distrent a la Dyaletique, Aingois que il fust aseri Entraissent en Mont Leheri. Les dames, qui molt sages erent, Dedenz Mont Leheri entrerent,	Advised Dialectic, That, before night-fall, They had better enter Montlhéry. The dames, who were very wise, Entered Montlhéry,	305
310	Et nel firent pas por cremor, Ainz le firent tout por l'amor Qu'els voudrent le chastel avoir; Et de ce firent els savoir Qu'els aiment les choses hautaines,	And they did it not from fear, But rather simply from the desire To possess the castle; And by this they made it known That they love lofty things,	310
315	Et Gramaire aime les fontaines. Li autor furent molt troublé Qu'ensamble se sont assanblé, Que l'arriere ban atendoient, Que dui chevalier amenoient,	Whereas Grammar loves the fountains. The authors were much troubled When they assembled, So they awaited the rear guard, Which two knights were bringing up,	315
320	Le Primat d'Orliens et Ovide.	Primat of Orleans and Ovid.	320

294. Our poet here personifies certain common expressions which constantly recurred in the schools.

320. Primat of Orleans was a teacher and poet of Orleans about the middle of the twelfth century. His real name was Hugo, and he was nicknamed "the Primat" (probably a title of distinction which meant "the chief"). This Primat was noted for his facility in improvising witty verses and also for the freedom with which he revealed contemporary manners and vices, especially those of the clergy. His fame spread rapidly; it had extended beyond the Alps before the end of the twelfth century, and in the fourteenth he was immortalized in the tale Boccaccio told about Primasso in his *Decameron*, I, 7.

Primat of Orleans must be kept distinct from a certain Primat of Cologne mentioned by Salimbene and Gerald de Barri as the author of a famous poem entitled *Confessio Goliae episcopi*, and who wrote other similar breezy verses early in the thirteenth century (not to be identified with Walter Mapes). He is called Golias by Gerald de Barri, a name which became famous because it came to designate the eponymous hero of the Goliardi, a sort of guild of wandering students. This opens up the whole vexed question of the *Carmina Burana* and similar poems, and the real nature of this Bishop Golias, to whom so many poems and songs of the Middle Ages are attributed. It will be interesting to see what light M. Manitius will throw on the matter when

	Ramenoient en lor aïde	They brought to their aid,	
	.x . m vers de grant randon	With great impetuosity, ten thousand verses,	
	Embriez en lor gonfanon,	Inscribed on their banner,	
	Qu'Ovide tessi de ses mains	Which Ovid wove with his hands	
325	En l'essil ou il fu du mains:	In the exile where he was in want:	325
	Marcial Coq. et Marcien,	Martial and Martianus Capella,	
	Senèque et Anticiudien	Seneca and Anticiudian	
	Et dant Bernardins li sauvages,	And Sir Bernard Silvester,	
	Qui connoissoit toz les langages	Who knew all the languages	
330	Des esciences et des ars;	Of the sciences and the arts;	330
	Cil ne venoit pas comme gars,	He did not come as a mere squire,	
	Ainz amenoit issi grant route	But he brought so large a band	

the second volume of his *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* will appear in Müller's *Handbuch*. Manitius, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, München, 1913 (*Münchener Texte*, Heft 6), was not accessible. Meanwhile we can but refer the reader to the scholarly articles by L. Delisle, "Le Poète Primat," *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes*, XXXI (1870), 303-311; by Hauréau in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXIX, Part 2 (1880), 253-272, and by Ch.-V. Langlois, "La littérature goliardique," *Revue bleue*, L (1892), 807-813; LI (1893), 174-180. See also the reflections of Gaston Paris in a review of A. Gabrielli, *Su la poesia dei goliardi*, in *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes*, L (1889), 258-260; and J. A. Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song* (1884), Appendix (which includes a bibliography). For another bibliography of the subject see A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, II (1902), 210-213. See also B. Schmeidler, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, Leipzig, 1912.

325. It is well known that Ovid passed the last years of his life (8-17 A.D.) in exile at Tomi, on the Black Sea, in Moesia, the modern Kustindje, whither he had been banished by Augustus on account of his objectionable poetry and because of some scandal in the family of Augustus.

326. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XI, 142) suggested that the manuscript readings *Marciacop* and *Maaracop* are corruptions of *Martial Coq.* and thus refer to the great epigrammatist Martial (c. 40—c. 102-104 A.D.) who was known throughout the Middle Ages by the cognomen *Coquus* (the cook). On this cognomen see Schneidewin's edition of 1842, 21, 638; and Friedländer, *Martial. Epigr.*, I, 3, 322, note.

Martianus Capella lived in the fourth century A.D. and came from Carthage to Rome. Before 330 he wrote a treatise entitled *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, a strange allegorical encyclopedia, treating of the seven liberal arts, which was very popular in the schools of the Middle Ages.

327. The *Anti-Claudianus* is a famous poem by Alain de Lille (c. 1128-1202). He seems to have spent some time in Paris and died a Cistercian monk in the abbey of Citeaux. The poem was inspired by Claudian's *In Rufinum*. It has been edited by T. Wright, *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets* (Rolls Series), II (1872), 268-428. See also Alain's interesting book entitled *De planctu naturae* (*ibid.*, 429-522), which has been translated into English by D. M. Moffat, *The Complaint of Nature by Alain de Lille*, N. Y., 1908 (*Yale Studies in English*, XXXVI).

328. Bernard Silvester of Tours was an important humanistic Latin poet, who flourished 1145-53. He is not identical with Bernard of Chartres. For his works and for a bibliography on the confusion of names, see J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I (ed. 2, 1906), 534.

	Que la terre en couvri trestoute.	That the whole place was full of them.	
	Estacez Achilleidos,	The Achilleis of Statius,	
335	Qui avoit fort pis et fort dos,	Strong in chest and back,	335
	Menoit par devant soi les hez.	Bore before him the stakes.	
	La fu li sages Chatonez,	There was the wise Cato,	
	Avionès et Panfilès;	Avianus and Pamphilus;	
	La portoit dant Theaudelès	Sir Theodulus carried there	
340	Une baniere mi partie;	A banner bipartite;	340
	Toissu i fu par grant mestrie	In it was woven with great skill	

334. Statius, the author of the *Thebaid* and *Achilleis* (second half of the first century A.D.) was mentioned above in line 209 along with Virgil and Lucan. Héron, 172, thinks that Henri d'Andeli believed that there were two famous poets with the name Statius, one the author of the *Thebaid*, the other, of the *Achilleis*. The source of this confusion would be the fact that P. Papinius Statius was often identified with Statius Ursulus of Toulouse, a famous rhetorician in southern Gaul about the middle of the first century A.D. (mentioned by Jerome *Eus. chron.* ad a. 2073 = 57 A.D.: "Statius Ursulus Tolosensis celeberrime in Gallia rhetoricam docet.")

336. The word *hez* or *ez* is somewhat troublesome. We have followed Héron, who believed they were pointed stakes which foot-soldiers planted before them when fighting in the open field. Augustin, 41, does not agree with Héron, but thinks they were a kind of shield.

337. The *Catonis Disticha* is a small collection of maxims and proverbs, probably written late in the third or in the beginning of the fourth century A.D. There is no proof that the name of the author was Cato. Probably that name is merely a reflection of the *Carmen de moribus* of Cato the Elder. These *Distichs* were often attributed to the latter in the Middle Ages when they were extremely popular as a reading-book in the schools. They were often rewritten and translated, for example, the *Chatonet* of Jehan du Chastelet or du Paris, c. 1260. See E. Stechert, *De Catonis quae dicuntur distichis*, Greifswald, 1912.

On the use of *Cato* and other primary reading-books in the schools of the Middle Ages see above, p. 35, n. 7, and E. Voigt, "Das erste Lesebuch des Triviums in dem Kloster- und Stiftsschulen des Mittelalters," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehung und Schulgeschichte*, I (Berlin, 1891), 42-53. Also see M. Boas, "De librorum cantoniarum historia atque compositione," *Mnemosyne*, XLII (1914), 17-46.

338. Avianus was the author of a collection of forty-two Aesopean fables in elegiac metre, composed probably between 365 and 379 A.D. (R. Ellis, in his edition of *Avianus*, Oxford, 1887). See also W. A. Oldfather, "New material for the study of Avianus," *Transactions of the Amer. Philological Association*, XLII (1912), 105-121.

Pamphilus de arte amandi is a twelfth century love elegy, inspired by Ovid, which was widespread during the Middle Ages. See Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, pt. 1, p. 427.

339. Theodulus, who is probably identical with the German Gottschalk of Orbais (Godescalc), wrote his famous *Ecloga* in the ninth century A.D. The poem represents a contest between Alithia and Pseustis. The latter champions the gods and deeds of the pagan past, whereas Alithia checkmates each effusion of her rival with some biblical story. Fronesis, who had been asked to judge, finally awards the victory to Alithia. Line 34 of the poem, "Perge prior, Pseusti, quia masculus," is responsible for the masculine gender of Pseustis. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (1911), 568-574, and the very careful study by G. L. Hamilton, "Theodulus: a mediaeval text-book," *Modern Philology*, VII (1910), 169-185.

	Dant Sextis percié son escu	Sir Pseustis with pierced shield	
	Que Alicia ot vaincu,	Vanquished by Alithia,	
	Qui painte estoit de l'autre part.	Who was pictured on the other half.	
345	La baniere comme liepart	Like leopards, this whole crowd	345
	Sivoient tuit eil tupinel;	Followed the banner;	
	Si legier sont et si isnel	So nimble they are and so quick	
	Par .i. pou que il ne voloient,	They almost flew,	
	Par .i. pou que il ne prenoient	They almost captured	
350	Parmi les piez dame Logique,	Among the stakes, dame Logie,	350
	Astrenomie et Rectorique.	Astronomy, and Rhetoric.	
	Mès els sont si haut herbergies	But they are lodged so high up	
	Qu'els les fierent de lor corgies	That they strike them with their whips	
	Et des langues l'air et le vent.	And with their tongues the air and the wind.	
355	Lor clers en encreissent sovent,	They often fatten their scholars on it,	355
	Qu'eles en sont trestoutes quasses.	Whence they themselves are altogether weak.	
	Les dames ont les langues lasses;	The dames have tiresome tongues;	
	Logique fiert tant en sa main	Logic strikes in her hand so much	
	Qu'ele a mis sa cotele au pain.	That she has torn her gown into shreds.	
360	Coutel n'ous fet sanz alemele,	She makes us a knife without a blade,	360
	Qui porte manche sanz cotele.	Who wears a sleeve without the gown.	
	De ses braz nous fet aparance,	We see from the looks of her arms,	
	Sor le cors n'a point de substance.	That on her body she has no substance.	
	Rectorique li vait aidant,	Rhetoric goes to her aid,	
365	Qui a les deniers en plaidant.	She who earns money by pleading.	365
	Autentique, Qode, Digeste,	The Novels, Code, and Digest,	
	Li fet les chaudiaus por sa teste;	Make her hot potions for her head;	
	Quar ele a tant d'avocatiaus,	For she has so many quack lawyers,	
	Qui de lor langues font batiaus	Who of their tongues make clappers	
370	Por avoir l'avoir aus vilains,	To get the goods of the common herd,	370
	Que toz li païs en est plains.	That all the country is full of them.	
	Uns des garçons dame Logique	One of the pupils of dame Logie	
	Fu envoiez a Gramatique;	Was sent to Grammar;	
	Lettres portoit por la pès fere.	He bore letters to make peace.	
375	Mès de ce ne me puis pas tere,	Now I simply cannot refrain from telling this,	375
	Que quant il vint a la meson	That when he arrived at his destination	
	Qu'il n'entendi pas la reson	He did not know the sense	
	Des presenz ne des preteriz;	Of the presents nor the preterits;	
	La ou il ot esté norriz.	And that there where he had been brought up,	
380	Que poi i avoit demoré.	He had dwelt on them but little.	380
	N'avoit pas bien assavoré	He had not learned thoroughly	

366. The Novels, Code, and Digest are parts of the *Corpus juris civilis* compiled at the command of the Emperor Justinian. The novels were often called The Authentics, which was a common name for the Latin translation from the Greek of the Novels, made by an anonymous author (*Authenticum, Novellarum versio vulgata*). This name was given it as an unabridged translation of the Novels, to distinguish it from the epitome made by Julian.

Lines 366-367 seem to contain some obscure reference to the fact that *dictatores* and notaries had a smattering of civil law. See above, p. 25.

	Conjugacions anormales,	Irregular conjugations,	
	Qui a decliner sont molt males,	Which are most difficult to inflect,	
	Averbes et pars d'oroisons,	Adverbs and parts of speech,	
385	Articles et declinoisons,	Articles and declensions,	385
	Et genres et nominatis,	Genders and nominatives,	
	Et supins et imperatis,	Supines and imperatives,	
	Cases, figures, formoisons,	Cases, figures, formations,	
	Singulers, plurers, .m. resons;	Singulars, plurals, a thousand terms;	
390	Qu'en la cort Gramaire a plus d'angles	For in the court of Grammar are more corners	390
	Qu'il n'a en Logique de jangles.	Than in all of Logic's prattlings.	
	Li gars n'en sot venir a chief;	The boy did not know how to come to the point;	
	Si s'en revint a grant meschief.	And came back in shame.	
	Mès Logique le conforta,	But Logic comforted him,	
395	En sa haute tor l'en porta,	Carried him to her high tower,	395
	Si le voloit fere voler	And tried to make him fly	
	Ainçois que il peüst aler.	Before he was able to walk.	
	Astronomie, qui haut vole,	Astronomy, who soars high,	
	N'a mès ne recet ne escole,	Has retained neither retreat nor school,	
400	Ne en païs, ne en contrée;	Neither in the city nor in the country;	400
	Ele fust ja toute esgarée,	In truth, she would have been entirely lost,	
	Ne fust mestre Gautiers li preus,	Had it not been for brave master Gautier,	
	Qui de petit en fet ses preus,	Who out of little makes his living, [Little Bridge,	
	L'Englois qui lut sor Petit Pont,	The Englishman who holds disputations on the	
405	Qui por povreté se repont.	Who hides himself for poverty.	405

402. It is rather strange that Henri d'Andeli should have made so much ado about this Gautier, the last of the astronomers in Paris, according to the text. Henri surely had no particular love for Astronomy, for in line 435 he ends the battle by making her throw lightning on the tents of Grammar. There seems to be some confusion in the text. A glance at the facsimiles appended will show that lines 398-411 are missing in manuscript B, and Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XI, 142) has called attention to the fact that these lines seem to be misplaced in the other manuscript. In all probability several lines have been lost. We believe that Gautier has nothing to do with Astronomy. He is an Englishman who held disputations on the Little Bridge. We know that this bridge was renowned for its schools of logic, not astronomy (see above, note on line 108). It is hard to see how the "warfare of the schools" (*militare in scholis*), which is so neatly suggested by the expression "*lut sor Petit Pont*," could be carried on over astronomy. In our opinion, Gautier was not an astronomer but a master of arts in Paris who was partial to the poets of Orleans, a man like John Garland. (See above, p. 16). Now it is interesting that this same John Garland singles out a certain Galterus (in the Bruges MS a gloss adds—"Anglicus magister") for high praise as a humanist, in his *Morale scholarium*, which was written between 1238 and 1244 (Bruges MS 546, fol. 7 r°; Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS 385, p. 312; Bodleian, MS Rawl. G 96, p. 167). Under the date 1246, Salimbene (*Chronica*, in *M. G. SS.* XXXII, 551) speaks of a friend of John of Parma, an Englishman named Gaulterus, whom he describes as verily angelical (*Anglicus natione et homo vere angelicus*). Consult L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, I, 472, for the Walter the Englishman famous in fable literature. Perhaps these unsatisfactory notices will help others to cast more light on this Walter the Englishman.

	Et Gramaire si ert alée	Grammar withdrew	
	En Egypte ou ele fu née.	Into Egypt, where she was born.	
	Mès Logique est ores en cors,	But Logic is now in vogue,	
	Chascuns garçons i cort le cors	Every boy runs her course	
410	Ainçois qu'il ait passé .xv. anz;	Ere he has passed his fifteenth year;	410
	La Logique est ore aus enfanz!	Logic is now for children!	
	Logique est de molt mal ator	Logic is in a very bad situation	
	Sor Mont Leheri en la tor;	In the tower on Montlhéry;	
	La demaine ele sa mestrie;	There she practices her art;	
415	Mès Gramaire la contralie	But Grammar opposes her	415
	De ses autors et d'autorez	With her authors and authorlings	
	Sentencieus et legerez.	Sententious and frivolous.	
	Ego si respont en la tor	Echo answered in the tower	
	Des granz cops que l'en fiert entor,	To the great blows given all around,	
420	Quar toutes i gietent lor rimes.	For there they all hurl their rhymes.	420
	Ele se desfent de sofimes:	She defends herself with sophisms;	
	Sovent les fet cheoir envers	Often she makes them fall back	
	Et il li relacent lor vers,	And they in turn hurl at her their verses,	
	Si que toz li airs en est nubles.	So that the air is thick with them.	
425	Ele se desfent d'issolubles,	She defends herself with unsolvable questions,	425
	De soluces et de fallaces.	With true and with false solutions.	
	Li autorel font teus rabaces	The authorlings put in a great rage	
	Qui ilueques sont assamblé	All those assembled there	
	Quant il auront tant voleté,	And so eager to get away,	[siege 430
430	Que ja d'iluec ne partiront	Because, in truth, they will never raise the	
	Desi au jor que il charront;	Until the day that they surrender;	
	Et s'eles chiéent en lor mains,	And if they [the besieged] fall into their hands,	
	Il les menront du plus au mains.	They will drive them from better to worse.	
	Por noient i font lor atentes,	All for naught they make their siege,	
435	Quar Astronomie a lor tentes,	For Astronomy upon their tents,	435
	Qui desor els geta la foudre;	From above, hurled her lightning;	
	Toz les paveillons mist en poudre;	All their pavilions she reduced to ashes;	
	Et li autorel s'en fuirent,	And the authorlings fled,	
	Qui la Gramaire deguerpirent.	And deserted Grammar.	
440	Versefieres li cortois	The courtly Sir Versifier	440

406-7. Héron, 177, found an interesting passage in Martianus Capella, illustrating this tradition concerning the origin of Grammar, notwithstanding which Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XI, 142) suggested that "Geometry" be substituted for "Grammar" in line 406 because it was such a hoary tradition that Geometry was born in Egypt. This emendation does not appeal to us. There doubtlessly is much confusion in the manuscript at this point, but Grammar and Logic, and not Geometry, any more than Astronomy, seem to be the subjects under discussion.

440. "Versefieres" seems to be the personification of poetry, perhaps Henri d'Andeli had Primat or Golias in mind (see note on line 320 above). Héron, 178, believes, and with much reason, that our poet was thinking of the poetic contests held between students of Orleans and Blois, concerning which we have some evidence in an anecdote told about Primat, telling how he disguised himself as a laborer and went out to the place where the students of Orleans and Blois were holding a contest, in which a student of one town would begin a verse which a student of the

	S'enfui entre Orliens et Blois. Il n'ose mès aler par France, Qu'il n'i a nule connoissance; Quar arcien et discretistre	Fled away between Orleans and Blois. [France, Henceforth he does not dare to go abroad in Since he has no acquaintance there; For students of arts and of canon law
445	N'ont mès que fere de lor gistre.	No longer care for their [i.e., the vanquished] jurisdiction. 445
	Li Breton et li Alemant Font encore .i. poi son commant; Mès se li Lombart le tenoient, Icil le par estrangeroient.	The Bretons and the Germans Still do his bidding to some extent; But if the Lombards got hold of him, They (in a trice) would strangle him.
450	Seignor, li siecles vait par vaines; Emprès forment vendront avaines, Dusqu'a .xxx. anz si se tendront Tant que noveles genz vendront, Qui recorront a la Gramaire,	Sirs, the times are given to emptiness; Soon they will go entirely to naught, For thirty years this will continue, Until a new generation will arise, Who will go back to Grammar,
455	Ausi comme l'en soloit faire Quant fu nez Henri d'Andeli, Qui nous tesmoingne de par li C'on doit le cointe clere destruire Qui ne set sa leçon construire;	Just as it was the fashion 455 When Henri d'Andeli was born, Who gives it us as his opinion That one should destroy the glib student Who cannot construe his lesson; [tice 460
460	Quar en toute science est gars Mestres qui n'entent bien ses pars.	For in every science that master is an appren- Who has not mastered his parts of speech.
	Explicit la Bataille des .vii. Ars.	Here ends The Battle of the Seven Arts.

other was obliged to fill out impromptu. Naturally Primat distinguished himself beyond measure. This anecdote was written by a dominican in the reign of St. Louis. See Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans," *Annuaire Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Hist. de France* (1869), 147.

442. Strictly speaking, "France" should be translated "Isle de France."

446. "Breton" can scarcely be translated "Englishmen" because Henri d'Andeli wrote "L'Englois" in line 404.

When he referred to Germans, he was probably thinking of Erfurt where there was a humanistic tendency in his day something like that at Orleans. Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I (1885), 404, 408, 758, note 19, 761.

448. It is noteworthy that Henri d'Andeli sees no hope for the ancient classics in Italy, from whence come the hated Lombards and no humanists (see above, p. 25). He looks rather to Germany and Brittany. Compare this with our remarks concerning Italy as the cradle of the "revival of learning." Above, p. 14.

452. Henri d'Andeli was a little too sanguine. Petrarch did not appear until about three generations had passed since the penning of the *Battle of the Seven Arts*.

III. PLATES

FACSIMILES OF THE TWO EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS OF
LA BATAILLE DES .VII. ARS

PLATES

Plates I–VI. MS A. Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 837, fol. 135^b to fol. 137^c.

Plates VII–X. MS B. Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 19152, fol. 112^d to fol. 114^b.

n on fer. ce nest mie raison.
 q si q li pex clerton
 l ist la leon z pas neutent
 a u gmenter ce q apient
 a usi ne fer nouiaut amant
 f a soit ce q soit destrant
 d e regarder ce q hister
 f lne fer pas ce q loigier
 g mtr ferot au gmenter
 n us hō sages de tel mest
 n est muer. ce mest aus
 s on ne fer ce q na apus
 q dnapust ne ne soit onq
 c e puer vie estre or me didouq
 p us qmout fer la gē dolour
 q l doucor i puer d auon
 n e puent estre ce me sible
 z doucor z dolour ensamble
 s i font vie deus or gnt
 l a dolour q li agnans sent
 c est soupirer z vaillier
 p erit dounir z nist seillier
 s any froidure sentir trabler
 z any trop chaut auoir suer
 ay eng peat z bouire mais
 e stendie plandie z estre dms
 d escolozier z amaigrir
 z mas z pater dauenir
 z tout ce vnt de trop penser
 s i ne sen puer len trouler
 l i penser tāt soit le delire
 q tout autre delir aquite
 b arper gmler chāt dantier
 n e puse vaillant i denier
 a uer iote nature solar
 n el sible estre al q gas
 e n penser met toute sentence
 c est ce q plus h atakente
 c at i sent sola z doucor
 q l en oubie la dolour
 s i q al q en miel se baingne
 z de la doucor se mehaigne
 e chose auient q vout amq
 d oit courat choses le celq
 a prendie vnt a toy amant
 l of ij. courtoies plus grant
 g pht sauoir lune est damer
 z luerre apr est de donq
 ay el chascune aē a i point
 c arz li donerres ou il dnt

q sil ne done sagement
 c alcy en est de mance gent
 s i dient maint q p seie
 d one non pas p courtoie
 t out auerres est de lamant
 s il ne coile vie son talant
 z sil dist son estre a plusoif
 n e puer pas bien son damoit
 g ne avit pas q soit ameres
 ay es essieres z vanteres
 s i ne si ose len fier
 t out sache trau salsat moustrer
 n e puer ce ne grieue mie
 s e li amant car soit se fie
 e n aucun q lant esproue
 d e fin cuer z leal adue
 z sil le avit z aime tant
 q celer ne li veut neant
 s e p fiance se oplaner
 s iudamoi q le destraine
 ut nel doit venir a vantise
 q se il aime tant z puse
 q son dit volentz estout
 i li plest z dehte mlt
 q paine se puer trouler
 d e son estre souent greer
 q volentz raporte en bouche
 c hasty ce q au cuer li touche
 s i toy autres se dou celer
 a may z couvrir son penser

Explicit le chahement des dames.

La bataille des vii ars

Dans z orhent
 ce sont ij
 cest grant domages
 z grant deus
 q li sont a luerre
 nacoide
 saue poi qui
 est la desorde
 q ne n par dune science
 q logiq q toy vnt tence
 clame les audoit auoiaut
 z les clers dohent glomeraut
 orzant vie chasor. un. omer
 q il loient a grant gomer
 z seient bien verker
 q dune finelle dunt signer

La Bataille des vii Ars.



Col. C.

Col. D.

15 **S** ouf feront il . l . Cerr
 a et il redient q po verr
 d l clament la dyalecra
 p mal despit quâlique
 e d de parit li clerc platon
 n e les puent pas . i . louton
 20 l ogra a les clerc en les maïs
 z grammaire selt nist au maïs
 o ramane selt mlt coquace
 s i a la hamere dicte
 d chose oient e mlt bley
 25 l a a el ser of assambley
 o mers z hner claudient
 d euaot p se pient
 e il bon est auoustre
 z al lon esquier menestre
 s esmure eut auoc grammaire
 30 q nar ele issi de son aumane
 l iche doient seltmure
 d des armes aus auouf furer
 a estre ichant de . s . mouffe
 d sar ser auouf a demise
 35 o ede garnier t lalimon
 q auot eut . i . saumon
 s oi son escu entre . ij . dars
 d un poure chaut o le parit art
 p luf noir q colle de pironne
 40 p oi les pions roiaut de lara
 z po lonre les eus doist
 l neller sans cresse de fiens
 l ois ni or il ne geu ne rs
 45 l oi chemin eudient . s . parit
 d hne logia loi dne
 s i ora toure plaine dire
 l asse un pdu mes ofot
 q moul de builli est mors
 s es geny manda deus zourai
 50 p dan pierron de coute nai
 v us logiaent mlt tras sages
 l a fu mestre ichant li pages
 z palasne al de gamaches
 a estre nichole aus hautes naches
 55 c il troussere eue cadruue
 s oi . i . grât char e dne cuue
 l iluel tranoient le char
 r olt le nain p grât eschar
 l es poingnoit co dun agustlon
 60 c heron le viel poit el coillon
 l ouf se mistre eut a la voie
 l aor maie pueillon de soie

S oi mont lehen les linot
 l a se firent de auels plait
 l e lai chanaicha richent
 65 z decrer oigulleyement
 s oi estoutres les autres art
 a le ior elis lonbars
 q redouq or amene
 d art ont de langues epang
 70 p oi pter les cuers des geny nias
 d vienent iouster a loi hies
 q il toient mait heritages
 p les lances de loi langages
 a ugustin ambrose grigone
 75 o indme lede z pldre
 d istrent a la diuinite
 q leeschmaist loi vanite
 a a dame la haure science
 d nanot cure de loi dence
 l essa les art tencant ensable
 a parit sen vint ce me sable
 b ointe les eus de son celier
 80 p le conseil au chancelier
 o u ele auot mlt grât fiance
 p cert le meilloi clerc de france
 a es din par la tient a fole
 q quât el despute en sescole
 e Hesse la digne clerge
 90 z corne la philosophie
 z h artien nont mes cure
 l ire foit liure de nature
 z la ger grammaire puerse
 r ont lessie claudien z perse
 95 ij mlt bons liures anaent
 l es meillois aus gramaient
 r ut font la gramata
 d e la bone ancienetes
 f isq . p . p . gahen
 z al hardi arungen
 100 c il de rue nuene robert
 z al de glatin hiber
 z mestre pierres h lolar
 q parit triche p les art
 z graur . i . autres de ables
 105 z mestre henri deuenable
 z moul de la charre
 p ent poit z loi vanite
 z mlt conaissent au gang
 s il eussent mlt mehm
 c ungie la valenastre
 110 s e seoir le . i . singlent astre

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Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Fr. 837, Fol. 135

C-D

COCKAYNE, BOSTON



Col. A

q mult' auoir muer les destordes
 q i ne fist des geuz q'oides
 b oister pouoir z ougremens
 z grans pleintes de ferrimens
 p oisachi les q'raus des pances

q le auoir tost recatones
 l es ventres q' l'ur bacones
 s est cele science des mains
 q es ele a si hardies mains
 q le ne p'gne nule gent
 d ot ele p'ust auoir arget
 f e les teusse poi mlt' pieus
 s il meussent gar des igr
 q es il cunehent mainre ge
 q des. v. z de lugens
 q l'reconuent de lor p'ons
 f ont da parit grans mesons
 d a trouere v'it z de napes
 q des l'ucilles sot les duples
 i mienur l'ingre mance
 q lor dist vie lor mescitance
 q chasot au la ceste armee
 q le auoir garde en lespee
 q uen. i. q'uefor fist. i. feu
 l q. i. cerne entre ch'en z leu
 l a ot. ij. chas sacrefies
 z ij. oul'd'braus f'raus
 p la malisne deure
 p oi encorch la verite
 l a fille dame astrenome
 q de lor maut lor fu amie
 l oi dist mlt' bien q la batasse
 e re kendenain l'ny nule f'ille
 a rmetaq fist en l'obrie
 o u ele dit ou ele nobrie
 q .x. z .ij. z .i. font .xij.
 z p'ust .ij. apt ce font .xv.
 .ij. z .ij. z p'ust .ix. arriere
 r efont .xv. e la lor maniere
 .xij. z .xvi. font .xl.
 z .ij. p'ust font .lx.
 .v. font .c. z .x. mil
 q onte plus h'ges nenil
 l en puet vie q'er. q. milhers
 p le q'er q' est premier
 d unobrie q' monte z descet
 q en geant vient dun a. c.
 d e la fist la dame son q'er
 q v'etier z p'ince z conee

Col. B

a mit muer lui la ge'p'resse
 q la chanson de la gr'at messe
 a rmetaq si monta
 s oi son cheual z si contra
 e stot les ch'ir de lost
 z ele auoir a son acost
 s a o'paigne grometne
 q li refesot la mestrie
 q uentre. ij. of. z une place
 f ist. i. q'as de l'ucue espace
 z si dist quen. q. p'is de e're
 s e'oir sinee cele guerre
 q a dame m'usij auf do'chetes
 z si clere plin de cham'conetes
 p o'ctoient g'gues z v'ieles
 s al'tenons z f'leureles
 d e la note du p'mier fa
 q on'ctoient d'usquen celofa
 l i dont ton diarefalon
 d iapante diapason
 s ont h'urtes de d'uit g'bes
 p q'raus z p' troubles
 p mi lost aloient ch'ant
 p lor ch'ant les sont encl'ant
 c eles ne se clarent par
 q es donaet isuel le pas
 a la cel cop f'ent platon
 d un vers bo'fere el menton
 q l'le fist e'st'our e'st'atir
 z dans platon p'grat air
 l e'refent si d'um sofisme
 s oi lesa p'm'one rime
 q l'le fist. i. trebuch el f'anc
 z le couu' e'st'our de lanc
 a r'istore fier p'raen
 n ostre laut p'ruddme anoen
 q l'le fist a terre voler
 d u cheual le volt de'fouter
 q es p'raen ot. ij. neueur
 q mlt' estoient b'aus z pieus
 d an'agrecme z do'arinal
 l i es'cloperent son cheual
 d e son cheual f'ient trepie
 a r'istore qui fu a pie
 s i fist che'oir gramant enuise
 l ois i ap'oint me f're p'arte
 d ant i'uenal z d'ant ouake
 v'igle fucan z e'atise
 z sedule p'opre p'rudence
 a i'arol omer z c'erence

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Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Fr. 837, Fol. 130

COCKAYNE. BOSTON



Col. C

Col. D

t uit chaplerent lor anitoze
 d fu fert q chafel lor more
 p zecienso sel y neuent
 215 l voloiert creuer les ier
 q uat elenche z les y loqds
 p ealmaines z copiqs
 l liure de nature etiq
 220 d ame nigromance finq
 z dan boices z dan macrole
 s est u dune cheuine roie
 z posire vndient le couf
 p or ferz anitoze secolf
 l iohart dame redouq
 225 p ointrent apf dileriq
 f a dit ce q pas ne lamoiert
 q de pect la gnoissioert
 y es matz priedine i mehaugnerent
 p or lauoir q i galuignierent
 230 p iediciement z sexprimas
 d u lon achareoz de drapel
 p ointre apf audiarlarime
 d cheuinoit lor cinquime
 s er il hime lige gramane
 235 d es meillou gens de son aumane
 y es d maintenir cele gre
 q l puf loqds auoir ere
 p trahison estouz coines
 p or ce q l er de poizau nez
 240 f cele pefine gent amere
 p ointrent lor gramane lor more
 d la vent lincier
 p or ces bons audous espincier
 h och restes z lincier manf
 245 z auf langues lach les frans
 y quraut voloiert enche
 p eoz q de lauz ne de trable
 q la plus cemin en poles
 250 q uen c y auat foles
 z li audoe se dessendient
 d de gramy pluer lor fediert
 d e canuecons z de greffer
 d e longues fables z de beffer
 255 l or chasmaut fust vie dessentabler
 d il ne fust si garms de fables
 q l aroingnent lor vanitey
 p lor braut mot en veritey
 s amaire lor fierri desiple
 z mite couf dun ptiople
 260 q le fist a la che estendie
 p h dit or aly aprendie

p uis en fist v cheon lor lert
 p la poince de son auerbe
 y es dans sours la fist respondie
 265 q lne pot pas a co respondie
 s ceus doient selt adieue
 q lout longuement estauue
 e n la pfondee dun sol
 l i alafcherent son cheual
 270 d soustenoit ocognie
 l e fondeur de la elegie
 p fist arriere sel rezouf
 d ame gramane a les audous
 d vent logriemaut
 275 g me il tuoiert audouaut
 z fere ces destrudions
 s or ces gentis gndions
 l i sollires les desysioert
 p or ce q pas nes entendoert
 280 q tant iot de contredir
 q pou fer lun q lautre dir
 q chz paralamane
 t ua. yd. archeraine
 d el tarout de normendie
 285 e pef ce si tua cobie
 m en tua en i randon
 z geta duas macidim
 z la bible versetiee
 r ad dun grit mail esmee
 290 y es quier vit auf partenomiqf
 o nqf la mesme copiques
 n es pient perier p esdus
 t ar st partenomiqf fous
 d ant iuste z piererea
 295 s truerent plopter ei
 l e ben ego mei vel mi
 q estou trop lor anemis
 q lne soient dont il venoit
 n e gnt il se deslinoit
 300 q uat loqds or fer la proesce
 s asen maunt a gric leeste
 a lestandant a la baniere
 l or se trestrent li ost arriere
 a strenomie z redouq
 305 d istrent a la dyaleriq
 a mcor q il fust aseri
 e nraisset en mont le heri
 l es dames q mlt sages erent
 310 d edens mont le heri entretent
 z nel firent pas por amoe
 d a ny le firent tour por la moe

La Bataille des vii Ars.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Fr. 837, Fol. 136

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

1 1 Gourent le chastei auoir
 2 de ce firent il l'aitoir
 3 1 amir les choses l'aitoir
 4 gramair aime les fontaines
 5 1 au d'oi firent n'ist trouble
 6 uensable se font assable
 7 l'arrierehan arendoiere
 8 dui ehe ameroient
 9 1 e primar deliens zoiude
 10 amenoient en loz aide
 11 Vers de grant rindon
 12 e buens en loz gonfanon
 13 uouide tress de ses mair
 14 1 essil ou il fu du mair
 15 1 arciacop z mairon
 16 1 eneq z auclaudien
 17 1 dans vnardint li l'aitoir
 18 1 onoridit toz les langages
 19 d'essencier z des art
 20 1 ne venoit pas ome gar
 21 1 amenoit issi grant r'oute
 22 1 la eie en couuri estoute
 23 1 t'act achileidof
 24 1 auoit soit p'it z soit dor
 25 1 enoit p' deuit soi les loz
 26 1 a fu li l'iges chironoy
 27 1 uionet z pauifet
 28 1 a p'it toz d'auclaudien
 29 1 ne l'aitoir mi p'ite
 30 1 oussu i fu p'it m'etrie
 31 1 an l'aitoir p'ite son eue
 32 1 mahaat or vancu
 33 1 p'aitre estoit de l'aitoir p'ite
 34 1 a l'aitoir ome l'epart
 35 1 1 voient tute il cupinel
 36 1 1 legier p'it n'ist
 37 1 1 pou q' il ne voloit
 38 1 1 pou q' il ne p'noient
 39 1 1 mi les p'is dame logiq
 40 1 1 menomie z t'adit
 41 1 1 esil p'it n'ist h'ait
 42 1 1 les firent de loz coignes
 43 1 1 des langues l'ait z le vent
 44 1 1 1 elers elers z encresser souent
 45 1 1 les en p'it t'adit q'it
 46 1 1 es dames ont les langues l'ait
 47 1 1 agiq fier t'at en la mair
 48 1 1 le q' m'it la cotele au pain
 49 1 1 ouel nous fer l'ait alemele
 50 1 1 p'ite manche l'ait cotele

d e les b'it nous fer ap'ance
 e or le cou na p'it de substance
 r eadit li l'ait adant
 q m a les d. en plaidant
 a urenit qode digeste
 1 1 fer les chaudiat p'it la ceste
 q eke a t'at d'aitocant
 q de loz langues font b'aitat
 p or auoir l'aitat auf l'aitat
 q toz li p'it en est plait
 n des garcons dame logiq
 f u enuoir a gramair
 1 eures p'it p'it la p'it fere
 1 es de ce ne me p'it pas tere
 q quant il vint a l'aitat
 q 1 n'entendi pas la reson
 d es p'it ne des p'it
 1 a ou il or este n'ist
 q p'it 1 auoit demore
 h auoit pas b'it assaure
 g m'igacions anormales
 q a decliner p'it m'it m'it
 a uerbes z p'it d'aitat
 a r'itales z declinons
 z genres z nominat
 z sup'it z m'it
 c a les figures formons
 s m'igulert p'it p'it. n'ist
 q uen la cou gramair a plus d'aitat
 q 1 na en logiq de lang'les
 1 1 g'it n'ist t'at v'it a ch'it
 s 1 sen reuint a g'it m'it
 1 es logiq le c'it
 e n la haute toz le p'it
 s e h voloit fere v'it
 a m'it q' il p'it aler
 a l'itennie q' haut v'it
 n a m'it ne t'at ne estole
 n e en p'it ne en c'it
 e le fust la c'it esgarre
 n e fust m'it g'it li p'it
 q de p'it en fer les p'it
 1 englor q' l'it l'it p'it
 q ui p'it t'at l'it
 z gramair n'ist alee
 e n egypte ou ele fu nee
 1 es logiq est o'it en cou
 c b'it garcons i cou le cou
 a m'it q' l'it p'it
 1 a logiq est o'it a l'it



Col. C.

1 ogiq est de mlt mal atol
 2 oi mont leheri en la tor
 3 a demane ele sa mestrie
 415 4 es gramaire la congnalie
 5 es f a u d o i r t d a u t o i s
 6 en t e n a e u r t l e g e r y
 7 o q o si r e s p o n t e n la t o r
 8 e r g a n y c o p s q l e n h e r t e n t o r
 420 9 t o u t e l o r g e r e t l o r r i m e r
 10 l e s e d e s s e n t d e s o f i m e r
 11 o u e t l e s f e r c h e o r e n l t
 12 i l h r e l a n c e n t l o r v e r r
 13 i q t o y h a i r e n e n n u b l e r
 425 14 l e s e d e s s e n t d i s s o l u b l e r
 15 i s s o l u b l o r t d e f a l l e e
 16 i a u t o r e l f o n t r e u s r a b e e
 17 d u e q r f o n t a s s a m b l e
 18 u a t i l a u o n t t a t d o s e r e
 430 19 i a d i l u e c n e p a r o n
 20 e s i a u l o r q i l c h a r t o n
 21 s e l e r c h e e n t e n l o r m a i r
 22 l e s m e m o n t d u p l a u m a i r
 23 o i n o i e n t i f o n t l o r a t e n t e r
 435 24 a s t r e m o n i e a l o r t e n t e r
 25 d e s o i e l s g e r a l a f o u d i e
 26 o i l e s p a u e l l o n t m i n t d e p u d i e
 27 i a u t o r e l s e n f u i r e n t
 28 l a g r a m a i r e d e g p r e n t
 440 29 e r s e f i e r e s h c o r t o i s
 30 e n f u i e n t r e o i l e n t t b l o i s
 31 l n o s e m e r a l e r p f r a n c e
 32 l n i a n u l e o n o i s s a n c e
 445 33 a r a e n t d i s t r e s t r e
 34 o n t m e r q f e r e d e l o r g i s t e
 35 i l i e r o n t t h a l e m a n t
 36 o n t e n c o r e i p o i s o n g m a r
 37 a s l e h t o h a r t l e r e n o i e n t
 38 a l l e p e s t r a n g l e r o n t
 450 39 e i g n o i l h n e c k e r u n t p l a m e s
 40 p e s f o r m e t v e n d i o n t a u a i n e s
 41 u s q x x a n y s i s e t e n d i o n t
 42 a n t q n o u e l e s g e n y v e n d i o n t
 43 r e c o u r o n t a l a g r a m a i r e
 445 44 a u s i g m e l e u s o l o i t f a i r e
 45 u a r f u n o h e m r d a n d e h
 46 n o u s t e s m o i g n e d e p l i
 47 d o n t l e c o m i t e c l e r e d e s t r u i r e
 48 n e s e r l a l e c o n g e r u i r e
 400 49 e n c o u r e s a e n c e e s t g a r s
 50 e s t r e s q n e n e n o b i e s e r p a r s

Sphat la bataille des vii ars.

Le premier plaidier
 Le second plaidier
 Le troisieme plaidier
 Le quatrieme plaidier
 Le cinquieme plaidier
 Le sixieme plaidier
 Le septieme plaidier

Sphat la bataille des vii ars.



e i g n o i r v o u s q u i
 a p e r y v o i c u r e s
 e n f a b l e s t e n
 a u e n t u r e s
 q v o u s g e n t
 a l l o s e n g i e r
 p o i v o u s b l a n d i r
 t l o s e n g i e r

d i t e s m o i q m e n t p r o n f i t e
 l a f a b l e q u a t e l v o u s e s t d i r a
 p r e n d i e i p o i s o n e r i s e e
 t a r d i s g m e a l e e s t d e m i s e e
 4 y e s p u i s q g r e t e s t r e m e s e
 11 i s a u t h p r o u s h o n e f r e s e
 q m i t p o u v o i r c e s o u r s e s t r e
 d e c e q n e s t n e n e p u e r e s t r e
 d o t f e r o i t i l m i e r e n t e n d i e
 a g r e o u p e u s s i e s a p r e n d i e
 4 s e r e m e n t t c o r t o i s e
 11 a u t a p a s l a p r o i c h o i s i e
 d e s e r t y q c e s t i a u r a
 t q r e c e n i r l a s a u t a
 2 s u l a i n s e s t q l e n t e l e r
 c e d i s t r e s a n t d u c h a s t e l e r
 q n o u s g m e n c e e s t r o m a n y
 d e c h a t o n t d e s e s g m a n y
 l e p o r e n c h a t o n p r e u d o m e
 d e s l e n a t o r s f u d e r o m e
 4 l a r q i a d e s o n e a g e
 t o r n o r t h m o n d e s a f o l a g e
 s i q d e b i e n e t e n o i t g r a
 n e d o u c o r b l a s m e n e h o n t e
 e s t h i u r e s i n t p o i e n s e i g n i e r
 t u s q i l v o l o n t c h a t h e r
 2 c e u s q a p s l u i v e n d i o n t
 2 s e s g m a n d a n e n y t e n d i o n t
 F i l c l a m e e c l u i q s o n h i u r e
 2 s e s g m a n y v o u d r a e n s a u r e
 a t a n t q p u e r o e s o u f f r e
 d u p r o l o g u e n e v u e l p s d i r e
 4 i l d i s t c h a t o n s q u i t r e v o i e
 l e s h o m e s a l e r m a l e v o i e
 q a b i e n d e u s s e n t e n t e n d i e
 s i m e p u s t a l e r d e u s r e p r e n d i e
 2 d e l e u r f o l e s r e t r e t e
 2 g e u l l i e r l e b i e n a f e r e
 s i q v e l q u i s s e n t a h o n o r
 2 l i p l u s g r a t t h m e n o r

C. Par le Penant de Carny au d'Amans

Le dit de dragen
 Le dit du d'Amans
 Le dit de d'Amans
 Le dit de d'Amans
 Le dit de d'Amans
 Le dit de d'Amans
 Le dit de d'Amans

La Bataille des vii Ars.



D

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Col. D

Col. E Col. F

A iex gem puit latuit domur
 I may dancier meueue
 Cull mair lmay dancier
 Z trauaillier z nuit z ior
 Ait eue me plant ameieem
 Q ge ne qer iamaic par
 Q ne tant me plant
 I may dancier
 B n me plama laioie
 I Aioie diez ceta ce u
 O il qnt ma dame uorra
 T out mau de met may gary
 P iur q ge lau nor
 m et cuert penstee aulor
 Q tui ne ia alloit ne ptem
 J atant ioie de tui
 S ediez plant gelauru
 A ioie ge mpuil faultr
 S amoz me uelo grem
 A udon q le promit ma
 P bu amer aurai ioie
 O u iamaic nul ni faultra
 Explic

La bataille des vii ars

P arit zolient ce font q
 Z gnt domaiger z gnt del
 Q uunt alautre nacorde
 S aue; p d est lade corde
 Q ne lot par dune science
 Q r logia q toz iostence
 C lanne les aulor auloray
 Z les est bozient gomereay
 C u de phit liele platon
 A e les pient par i bouton
 I ogia alet est e set mant
 Z gramane set mite aumeit
 S ramane set mit couoac
 S iacalunere drecie
 A efor oueuf emitecble
 I A del set oz assamble
 O merr z luel; claudier
 A ouer p le precient
 C u bon chr auoiaie
 Z cu boue mer memtre

S ecumret euit ouuee gmane
 Q ne elisi deo amane
 I ichi doient semure
 Q des armet ar aulor fure
 A ntre ioha de p mone
 Q ter ter aulor a deute
 Q de garmer z lueuau
 Q auot eueit z fauud
 S or con eue eue q darr
 A un poure chut oie pman
 P iur q coule de p rone
 P tel pouont reax de lome
 Z p boure les uas dozie
 Q naitet fa gnt de fient
 I or mior a ne ge ne re
 I oz ebem; tureit u puit
 ame logia lor dire
 S ietia pte plaine dnt
 I aue mpuil mer ofou
 Q r rion de p bull est mou
 S esgez munda deit tomai
 P dant p rone de correnai
 J logient mit tref tanger
 I a fumanre iohant li paig
 Z pome lanne eue de gamachet
 A ntre mrole at lueit mcher
 C u trolenue eue z qdruue
 S oz gnt char e une eue
 I uetel enahmet le char
 R oit le nain p gnt elchar
 I espougnouit eodim aguilis
 C hore le mel poit elcouis
 I orl semitit ture alauie
 I aot mait pauentis de lue
 S o; mont le ben les lunoie
 I ale fure de oue p lner
 I A loie e uanchaicheu
 Z de gre; orgueilleu eue
 S or trestotet les auloray
 A it iot chet lounay
 Q rectoria out ameng
 A art out de laque e penng
 P p let cuert de gre; mte
 Q mient iot aloiaer

Q r aloieit mait hanger
 P let lacer de loz ianger
 A ugtm a loute g gne
 C noime lere yadone
 A ugtm Aladunire
 Q l eue hant la uante
M adame laphant lade
 Q nauoit eue de loz tere
 I alia t eue letay euable
 A parit leut ceme lade
 Q uunt dnt ton oier
 P le gnt aue hanger
 O uele auot mit gnt aue
 Q cert lunt dnt de fnt
 A ugtm puit lant aue
 Q qnt el de pte e letale
 C lante ladeite elg
 Z tome Alahitote
 Z li artien not mait cure
 A oen for lunt de nature
 Z iaget gmane pte
 P ont lante claudie z pte
 I mit bnt ture eue
 I et meillor at gmanet
 T ut font la o lere
 d e la bone auenue
 F iha ypoet gaten
 Z ai hardi chirurgien
 Z maitre pte il dnt
 Q parit eue p let ay
 Z girat aue de ablet
 Z maitre berie de napter
 Z rion de lacharte
 P erit pont z loz uante
 T restur tornat au gant
 S ai uenit nait mait
 C e let eue p nait puy
 S u mait gant de el
 A ugtm mait gnt
 Q de dnt z de lant
 Q r recoit de loz pte
 F or il apant gnt mait
 A e tolede mit z de napter
 Q de lant de la chape

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Col. A

Col. B. Col. C

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A unenuit nist nignange
 Q' lordist bñ loz metefance
 Q' ehafor art lateste amnee
 E le cestor iatote amnee
 E n r qrefoi fin unteu
 I ei r che entre chie pñeu
 I aor r ehai sacrefici
 E y coulombex formex
 P tamaligne deire
 P epech' lauerrre
 Lafille d'anne astronomie
 Q' deioz may lozfi amee
 I or dist mñ bñ q' labatulle
 E re lendemaiñ bñ uñle finle
 E rñuereñ fñst e lombie
 P nele dit ouele nombre
 Q' xz r r r font xñs
 E pñr rñs apr ce font xvi
 Q' tre rñs r pñr x aniere
 E font y xvi a lalormane
 xxñs r xvñs font xñ
 E xñs r xñs font xñ
 E xñs font e r xñ mñl
 Q' onte pñ legrñ nemi
 I enpuet bñs r q' mñl
 P legrñ q' est pñmert
 D unobie q' mñre r descent
 Q' encontant uñet dñm a r
 D ela fñst la dame sñ o r
 Q' uñuier r pñnce r conte
 A mñet mñel hñi la grece
 Q' la chñon de la grant mette
 A rñmeqññ si monta
 S orloncheual r hñonta
 S rento; le chñt de loit
 E clauoit a sñ acost
 S a pñaigne geometrie
 Q' la refñsoit l'amestrie
 E ntre noit en uñe place
 E ist r qñt de bñne epace
 E si dist qñ q' pñer de tre
 S erott fñnee oñte gre
 Q' adame mññññ a clocheret
 E si cñt plain de chñconeret

P oñroient gñuet r meeler
 S alteriont r flautelet
 E lanote du pñmier fñ
 Q' ontoient r qñ cefolñ
 I idou cont diatclaron
 D iapente diapron
 S de hñrre; de dññer iambes
 P qñreuer r par rñngler
 P mñlost aloiet r mñt
 P loz chñt let uñt enclameñt
 Q' lñe ce qñatñent par
 Q' ant conet eñle pñr
 A la telcop fñer platón
 D un uer bñere; el mñton
 E lñe fñst tñetor eñbñr
 E dñt platón pñr an
 E rñfer si dñm fñññe
 S or lece pññ uñe rñme
 Q' lñe fñst tñet bñññ eñññ
 E qñ couñ tñetor deññe
 I rññore fñer pñññ
 Q' lñe fñst a rñe uol
 D ucheual le uol de fñor
 Q' ant pñññ or rñ uñuoz
 Q' mñt eñññt deay pññ
 D ant agñññe r dññññ
 I lece pññt rñ cheual
 D eñ cheual fñññ tñepie
 A rñññññ qñ si apñ
 S fñññ cheon gññññ eñññ
 I orñ r apñññ mñññ pññ
 D ant uñññññ r dññññ
 V uññññññññññññññ
 E cedile pñññ pñññññ
 A pññññññññññññññ
 S uññññññññññññññ
 Q' fññññññññññññññ
 P cññññññññññññññ
 I uññññññññññññññ
 Q' ññññññññññññññ
 P erññññññññññññññ
 I fññññññññññññññ
 D amññññññññññññññ

E dññññññññññññññ
 V eññññññññññññññ
 E pññññññññññññññ
 P fññññññññññññññ
 I uññññññññññññññ
 P oñññññññññññññññ
 I añññññññññññññññ
 Q' de pññññññññññññññ
 Q' ant mññññññññññññññ
 P loz anññññññññññññññ
 P dñññññññññññññññ
 D mñññññññññññññññ
 P oñññññññññññññññ
 Q' eñññññññññññññññ
 S erñññññññññññññññ
 D eñññññññññññññññ
 Q' ant uñññññññññññññññ
 Q' lñe fñst tñet bñññ eñññ
 E qñ couñ tñetor deñññ
 I rñññññññññññññññ
 Q' lñe fñst a rñe uol
 D ucheual le uol de fñor
 Q' ant pññññññññññññññ
 Q' mñt eññññññññññññññ
 D ant agññññññññññññññ
 I lece pññññññññññññññ
 D eñ cheual fññññññññññññññ
 A rñññññññññññññññ
 S fñññññññññññññññ
 I orñ r apññññññññññññññ
 D ant uñññññññññññññññ
 V uñññññññññññññññ
 E cedile pññññññññññññññ
 A pñññññññññññññññ
 S uñññññññññññññññ
 Q' fñññññññññññññññ
 P cñññññññññññññññ
 I uñññññññññññññññ
 Q' ñññññññññññññññ
 P erñññññññññññññññ
 I fñññññññññññññññ
 D amñññññññññññññññ

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A-C

COCKAYNE BOSTON



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au dunt fortet l'ast respode
 e ine pot par av respode
 de ce collieut cest adieue
 Q' idguent lot effaue
 e n'apfondece d'un ual
 l'ialacehent co cheual
 Q' costenoit ortoghe
 e fondeut de l'algie
 p' uir fist amiere des reuoc
 A Ama g'mane a set autort
 uueut logiaemeue
 Q' u tenoiet autortax
 e fure set destrucion
 e ce ge ty constiueut
 l' i loistre les despiquet
 p' ce a par nel enredont
 Q' tant lot de gredit
 Q' pou set l'un a l'aut dit
 l' chr' pearmeue
 T ua mo seignoz archime
 l' des l'uyone de nozmdie
 e npl' ce l'ua thobie
 ius entua e un randon
 e gien emic maridon
 e la bible uie hiee
 R au dun grāt mail atomee
 Q' au qnt uirt asparenomiā
 e nāt l'amefne topiāt
 l' el porent pere p' effoz
 T at lot parenomiāt foy
 A at iuste p'rerea
 S it ueret prop'rerea
 l' e bon ego mei uel uir
 e u estoit mit lor bonz amir
 Q' l' ne soiet donc il uenort
 l' e comit ille desclioit
 Q' nē logiaot fāt caproce
 S isenreunt agrāt leedre
 A l' estandant acadamere
 A donc l'ere fāt lot amier
 A strommie z rectouā
 A uirāt aladialotia
 A mōit q' n' fāt asen
 e n' rasset e mōt leber

l' etamer a mit saigeseret
 A edem mōt le bi entrent
 e nel fure par p' cremoz
 e noit le fure p' lamoz
 Q' l' noiet le chabot auor
 e de ce fure il cauon
 Q' l' annent les choret banremer
 e g'mane amie les fortamer
 l' i auor fure mit trouble
 e n' amble se lot asamble
 Q' l' orniere ban a fediout
 Q' dur chr' amenoiēt
 l' e p'mat doiliens z oude
 e amenoiēt e loz aide
 B n' y milt en r randon
 e n' brene; e loz gōfenon
 Q' uide choit de set māt
 e n' eistil ou il fū dū mēme
 Q' aatocp z mēien
 S enen z amē claudien
 e dā; b' n' d' mē l' i cauauigel
 Q' q' noit lot lot l' i gāiger
 e el etaciens z de ar
 e il ne uenort par g'mez
 A m' amenoiēt l' i r' e gāt rōue
 Q' l' i r' e en coumtoite
 e itace; achilleidōr
 Q' anoit fort p' z fāt lot
 l' emenot p' deuāt les g
 l' a fū l' i gāiger chatonq
 l' i tione; z p' n' fū q
 la portoit dāt tyodole
 v ne baniere m' p' artie
 e oū l' i fū p' grāt mātte
 A at sextis p' eie l' o' eia
 Q' mātia ot uānu
 Q' p' mte estoit de l' auorep
 l' abanē q' me l' i fāt
 S onoiēt tūt acuphēl
 S ille; lot z l' i fāt
 p' r' p' o' a l' ne uoiēt
 e p' r' p' o' a l' ne p' uoiēt
 p' m' l' e p' iez dāme logiā
 A strommie z rectouā

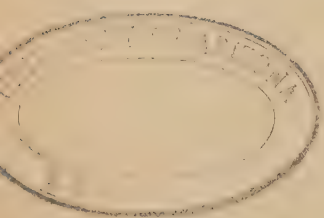
au u lot l' i uau l' i b' b' mē
 Q' l' i l' e f' ierēt de loz cor g' ier
 e de l' i uau l' i uau z l' e uē
 l' o' e l' e t' e n' c' o' i g' e t' c' o' uē
 Q' e l' e t' z l' o' u t' t' o' r e t' q' l' e t
 l' e t' d' mē t' o' t' l' e t' l' i g' uē t' l' i uē
 l' o' g' iā f' ier tāt e l' i mē
 Q' l' i mē t' a c' o' r e l' e a u p' e m
 e o' u t e l' n' o t' fāt l' i g' a l' u mē t' e
 Q' p' o' r t e t' māt t' e t' l' i g' a l' e
 e e t' l' e t' p' a; n' o t' fāt a p' a r t' e
 S o' r t' e c' o' r n' a p' o' t' d' e l' i f' i t' a t' e
 e r t' o' r a q' l' i u a u t' a i dāt
 Q' a l' e t' d' e n' t' e p' l' a d' a n t
 l' u e n e n t' iā q' d' e d' i g' e n t' e
 l' i fāt l' e t' d' i mē d' e u p' l' a t' o' t' e
 Q' r' e l' a t' a n t' d' i mē d' i d' i g' e
 Q' d' e l' o' z l' a n g' uē t' f' o' r' c' h' a u d' i g' e
 p' a n' o' r l' a u o' r a u u l' e mē
 Q' t' o' z l' i p' a u t' e e t' p' l' a mē
 v e r d' e g' a m mē dāme l' o g iā
 e u e n u o i e t' a g' m a t iā
 l' e t' r e c' p' o r t a p' l' a p' e l' fāt
 e a u t' d' e c' e n e m e p' u l' p' a t' e m
 Q' q' i t' u l' u i n t' e l' a m a n t' o
 Q' l' i n e t' e n d' o t' p' a r l' a r a i s
 e e t' p' l' e n' n' e d' e l' p' t' e r y
 l' a o u l' o t' e t' e n' o r t
 Q' p' o l' i a u o i t' d' e m o r t
 l' a u o i t' p' a r bā a l' l' a u e
 q' u i g' a c i o n e d' i o r m a l e t
 Q' a d' e l' e mē l' o t' m i t' m a i e t
 A u l' e t' z p' d' o r i o n e
 A r t' i c l' e t' z d' e c' l' i n o i o n e
 e g' e m e r e z n o m i n a t i s
 e l' u p' i n e z m' p' a r t i s
 e a l' e t' f' i g' u r e t' f' o r m o i o t
 S i n g' u l' i t' p' l' u r i e t' q' r a i s o t
 e n l' a c' o r t' g' m a n e a p' d' a g l' e t
 Q' l' i n a e l' o g iā d' e u i n g l' e t
 l' i g' a n' n' e l' o t' u e n' a d' i e t
 S i e t' r e m i n t' a g' rāt mē t' h' e t
 e a u t' l' o g iā l' e c' o n f' o r t a
 e n l' a h a u t' e t' o l' l' e p' o r t a

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COCKAYNE, BOSTON



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S ille uolot faire uol
 E noit q'il peult ap
 I ogia est de mit mal acoz
 S us mot le hi en lator
 I amene ele la mestrie
 Q au g'mane la conuene
 D e tel autot z d'aucoz
 S entencient z lierey
C a sirespont en lator
 Desgrami cou q'le fiert etoi
 Q r' toutet igiecent lortmes
 E le se desent de tofiane
 S ouet tel fait cheon emie
 Z uil relancent lortur
 S id'coz li ant e est mure
 E le se desent disolunet
 D e coluce z de fallace
 I uauozet sot ex uibace
 Q uneat tot assamble
 Q nt il auont cat uolere
 Q la diluec ne partent
 D enalozet q' il elvont
 Z selet chieent elormane
 I lletmetot dupl'aumeit
 P noiet ifont loz atente
 Q r' atonomie aloz entet
 Q de loz ay gita la foudre
 T o' loz pauenlo mit e poude
 Z li auozet lenfourent
 Q la g'mane des p'rent
 V se fierret licortot
 S enfor entre ouiet z blout
 I uole maif ap p' faice
 I ma nule q'noistace
 Q r' arcien z discretue
 N ont maif q' faire de loz g'at
 I ibreoz z h'alenit
 E ont encore poi co g'mant
 Q au se li loubant letenoiet
 I cil le p' estrag' lervient
 S eignoz l'isectet ua p' uenier
 A p'c forni, uim'et auenier
 P q' xpx' ans li cete rot
 T ant q' nouetel g'et uenont

Q reconrot Alagramane
 A us: q'me leuolot faire
 Q nt fimey hemi d'andeli
 Q notestpoigne de plu
 Q il doit le comte est despre
 Q ye set saleconq'mure
 Q r' entoure science est gar
 Q autre qui ueniet b'it cel p'ny

Exp.
 E i conuient les prouber
 A u conte de bretagne:

G uet prouber fait
 p'uierent. b'it d'it
 aurant q'loz elon
 ozet tout e respit
 E nne chante ne lit
 D amoz e nul endroit
 Q la bone denree
 A ma'uaile oubliet
 E e dit liulame
 P aison uol fait retrace
 Q: assez a afaire
 S use gant de parece
 V alour fait p'me t're
 Z parece retrace
 D amneur z deproce
 Q dechiet mal tiehet
 E e dit liulame
 Q au comeuement
 Q it bon afairent
 Q it e est p'amey
 A llet cont de elgent
 D ay ueon leuient
 E it chafot eng'bie
 Q p'rouc emuise
 N e set q' p' se fine
 E e dit liulame
 Q degre temehangye
 N est p'it d'roy gleplaigne
 Q iel uait atencenre
 Z cil q' lienlaigne
 T aste b'it la bargaigne
 E ox nent on afone
 D elachote p'ape

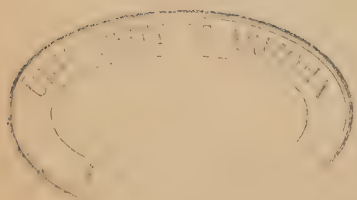
Q tel ne feremue
 E e dit liulame
 Q uelt ab'it ap
 D o' g'uel testuet o'g
 Q up' noiet se p'me
 D e toute lagnit m
 N e se pouot laul
 Q tel chote p'mene
 D e chote h'raue
 N ul b'it ae retrace
 E e dit liulame
 I a p'etre cortot
 P Vgreuey netteroy
 Q p'etre uilame
 I et cete chot dont achoit
 Q au q' p'it du lortot
 B it r' auon d'umait
 Q: donneur q' na cure
 H onte est la droicme
 E e dit liulame
C ebomianetey ualt
 d'ioy est ce dieu me d'it
 E est cete chot de tout b'it
 Z cil ouele fait
 Q auot le cuer haut
 Q r' de loz a fer chien
 P erue q'paigno
 A einhome felon
 E e dit liulame
 Q auue g'et tot me
 D estroit z coruie
 A m'it t're d'ouent
 Q ien cont de charie
 N apar tot b'it uengie
 Q malade enp'it
 A f'it fait d'nn domage i
 E e dit liulame
 I re ne t'able me
 A la grant feloume
 Q maif home mehaigne
 V aiseay ma'uaif
 E e dit liulame
 E e dit liulame
 Q touy tant a afaire

La Bataille des vii Ars.

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A-B

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MORALE SCOLARIUM OF JOHN OF GARLAND

(JOHANNES DE GARLANDIA)

A PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF PARIS AND
TOULOUSE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF
THE AUTHOR, TOGETHER WITH FACSIMILES OF FOUR
FOLIOS OF THE BRUGES MANUSCRIPT

BY

LOUIS JOHN PAETOW

MEMOIRS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, VOL. 4, NO. 2

HISTORY, VOL. 1, NO. 2

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
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1927

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO MY REVERED MASTER
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS

PREFACE

* Many years ago I planned to edit the *Morale scolarium* for the light which it might throw on the history of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century. I had photographs made of the manuscripts of the poem which I had consulted in Bruges and in Cambridge, England. It was not long before I concluded that an edition of the work could not be completed without another visit to Europe. That opportunity did not come until the academic year 1925-26.

My researches soon made it evident that the history of the life and works of John of Garland must be rewritten and brought abreast of modern scholarship. The task of editing the *Morale scolarium* proved much more difficult than I had anticipated. The text could not be determined or understood without the glosses, which are numerous and difficult and not easily assembled. I decided that it would be best to print almost all the glosses, even those that are not absolutely essential for the elucidation of the text, because they make an excellent exhibit of the pedagogical methods for the teaching of Latin during the thirteenth century, and because they furnish many unusual words not only in Latin, but also in French and English, which will interest philologists.

Although no pains have been spared, I realize that finality has not been reached in all the multiform paleographical, linguistic, literary, and historical problems that are raised by this odd poem. I should feel repaid for many long and difficult researches in branches of learning which are not strictly my own if specialists in those fields would make the *Morale scolarium* and other hitherto inedited works of John of Garland the point of departure for deeper studies in medieval Latin language and literature.

I wish to thank Professor Charles H. Haskins, who awakened my interest in medieval intellectual history, for much valuable aid. His unparalleled acquaintance with European collections of manuscripts led to the discovery of the manuscripts of the *Morale scolarium* in Oxford and in Lincoln, which had never been known to scholars. When Oberlehrer Edwin Habel made the regrettable decision to discontinue his work on John of Garland he sent me a considerable number of his notes for which I am very grateful. My work in Paris was greatly facilitated by M. Ch. V. Langlois, Director of the Archives nationales, and his colleague, M. Charles Samaran. M. Emile Chatelain, as librarian of the Sorbonne, extended me special privileges for many months. Every member of the staff of the Sorbonne library helped to facilitate my work and to make it pleasant. In my researches among the manuscripts in Belgium I was aided by Professors Henri Pirenne and F. Ganshof of the University of Ghent, M. Henri de Sagher, Archiviste d'Etat, Bruges, and by M. A. De Poorter, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque de Bruges; in Cambridge by Professor G. G. Coulton; in Oxford by Professors John L. Myres and H. W. Garrod, Rev. Herbert E. Salter, Dr. H. H. E. Craster, and Mr. S. Gibson; in Lincoln by Chancellor J. H. Srawley, Canon Elliott, and Canon Woolley. Canon Blake of Worcester Cathedral library kindly answered my inquiries about a lost manuscript. To all these scholars I wish to express my thanks. For preliminary researches in Belgium and in Lincoln I am also indebted to my former students, Gray C. Boyce and Mary C. Welborn.

Generous grants from the research funds of the University of California made it possible to secure photographs of manuscripts and allowed me to engage the expert services of Mr. Alfred Rogers in Cambridge, Miss E. G. Parker in Oxford, and M. Jean Porcher in Paris, who aided me in the collation of manuscripts and particularly in the difficult and fatiguing work with the glosses. I am grateful to them for their scholarly services as I am for the aid of Miss Mignonette Spilman, a graduate student in Latin in the University of California, who helped me most effectively in running down quotations and allusions and in explaining obscure words and phrases.

In the text of the *Morale scolarium* no attempt has been made to distinguish between *ci*=*ti* and *u*=*v*; in all words involving these equivalents modern usage has been adopted without reference in the *apparatus criticus*. The manuscripts have been followed in the use of *e*=*ae* and *oe*, a practice which had become universal in the thirteenth century following a tendency which we now see at work in English in words like 'medieval.' I have noted the particular use of all the following equivalents: *f*=*ph*; *i*=*y*; *ch*=*h* (*michi*, *nichil*); *d*=*t* (*set*, *capud*); *t*=*th*; *i*=*e*; *o*=*u*; *c*=*s*; the addition or omission of *h*; and the insertion of *p* (*hiemps*). Although as a rule the text of the Bruges manuscripts has been followed, words have been printed in their modern form if the manuscripts offered a choice.

The inedited works of John of Garland are marked with an asterisk in the table of contents. Works of which the authorship is very doubtful are indicated by a question mark in parentheses.

French and English words in the glosses are printed in small capitals.

BERKELEY, October 30, 1926.

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PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME FROM FIVE MANUSCRIPTS WITH THEIR GLOSSES

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PART I

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHN OF GARLAND

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHN OF GARLAND¹

1. THE LIFE OF JOHN OF GARLAND

John of Garland has been an enigma in the intellectual history of the middle ages. There has been much doubt about the century in which he lived, the country of his birth, the form and the meaning of his name. He has been confused with several other medieval writers and there has been, and probably always will be, doubt about the authorship of some of the works attributed to him. Still more vague is opinion about the status which should be assigned to him in intellectual history. Although he himself was a humanist in an age when humanism was almost extinct in Paris, humanists in all subsequent centuries have pointed the finger of scorn at him and thus have unwittingly encouraged ignorance about the life and works of one of their clan, which is never very numerous. This made it possible at the beginning of this century for George E. B. Saintsbury to dispose of one of his worthy countrymen with the unjustifiable remark, "he may have been an Englishman."²

¹ The earliest systematic notice of John of Garland and his works is found about 1410 A.D. in Boston of Bury, *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiae*, printed, with some omissions, in T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, London, 1748, p. xxxiii. Toward the middle of the sixteenth century he was followed by John Bale, *Illustrium majoris Britanniae scriptorum summarium*, Ipswich, 1548, ed. 2 in 2 parts, Basel, 1557-59, 153, *Index Britanniae scriptorum quos ex variis bibliothecis non parvo labore collegit Baleus, cum aliis: John Bale's Index of British and other writers*, edited by Reginald Lane Poole with the help of Mary Bateson, Oxford, 1902 [Anecdota Oxoniensia], 207-8. About the same time the Magdeburg Centuries included a brief list of John of Garland's books in the *Ecclesiastica historia, undecima centuria*, Basel, 1567, 654-55; and toward the beginning of the seventeenth century all extant knowledge about him was summed up by John Pits, *Relationum historicarum de rebus anglis*, Paris, 1619, 184. Although there are scattered references to John of Garland in C. E. Du Boulay (Bulaeus), *Historia universitatis Parisiensis*, 6 vols., Paris, 1665-73, his importance for the history of the university was not grasped by the author. Charles Dufresne Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 3 vols., Paris, 1678, mentioned him in his preface, §45, p. xxxvii, but he made little use of his works so essential for a knowledge of medieval Latin. Early in the seventeenth century Casimir Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis*, 3 vols., Frankfort and Leipzig, 1722, II, 609-11, made a convenient summary of the references to manuscripts of the works of John of Garland found scattered in Bernard, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum angliae et hiberniae*, Oxford, 1697. With his fine sense for all that is significant in medieval Latin language and literature, Polycarp Leyser, *Historia poetarum et poematum medii aevi*, Magdeburg, 1721, devoted some space to John of Garland on pp. 311-41. The list of his works occupies several columns in J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, 6 vols., Hamburg, 1734-46, II, 56-58. In 1747 the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, VIII, pp. xvi-xvii, 83-98, noticed him in an article which is ascribed to Dom Rivet, "Jean de Garlande: poëte et grammairien." Unfortunately Rivet confused counsel by arguing that John of Garland was a Frenchman. The next year, but without knowledge of Rivet's work, T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, London, 1748, p. 309, furnished the essential criteria for a correct biography of John of Garland, but his account was almost entirely neglected whereas the misleading article in the *Histoire littéraire* became the standard

John of Garland defied oblivion with a long array of books which have challenged attention ever since they were written and which deserve to be evaluated and utilized. Almost every catalogue of medieval manuscripts describes one or more works of our prolific author. Bibliographers all over Europe have always been familiar with his name. When printing was invented many of his works were in current use. Hence the lover of incunabula fondles many a quaint old volume, in curious or beautiful type and rare old binding, which bears the name John of Garland. Thus the first signed book of Heinrich Gran of Hagenau is the *Cornutus* of Johannes de Garlandia, dated 1489.³

We cannot, however, be content to allow John of Garland to continue to be forever a mere plaything in the hands of antiquarians. He spent about one-half of the thirteenth century as a professor in the University of Paris when that great institution was shaping the destiny of higher learning. Not many of the professors in the University of Paris in that century are known to us so intimately as we know John of Garland even now. Those who stand out most prominently were famous in logic, philosophy, and theology. Today, however, we are eager to know the history of branches of learning which have transformed our modern world, such as language and literature, history, and the natural sciences. This interest has given prominence to Roger Bacon who led a comparatively obscure life in the University of Paris in the thirteenth century. John of Garland has much to teach us about the study of language and literature at the rising university. No other writer of the thirteenth century was more concerned with the current Latin of the schools.

biography. It must not be supposed, however, that there was now a widespread interest in John of Garland. In the nineteenth century his reputation increased because a considerable number of his works had been printed before the year 1500, a fact which became widely known through L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum*, 2 vols., each in 2 parts, Stuttgart and Paris, 1826-38, with a volume of Indices by C. Burger, Leipzig, 1891. W. A. Coppinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum*, 3 vols., London, 1895-1902, contains no new items on John of Garland, but there are two new titles in D. Reichling, *Appendices ad Haini-Coppingeri Repertorium bibliographicum*, 6 parts in 3 vols., Monachii, 1905-11. In the era of modern historical scholarship, interest in John of Garland was reawakened by the editing of his most important dictionary by H. Géraud, "Dictionnaire de Jean de Garlande," in *Philippe le Bel d'après des documents originaux*, Paris, 1837 (Documents inédits, première série, histoire politique), appendix II, 580-612, and his most popular religious poem by F. W. Otto, "Johannes de Garlandia de Mysteriis ecclesiae," in *Commentarii critici in codices bibliothecae academicae Gissensis*, Gissae, 1842, 86-87, 131-51. John of Garland was actually resurrected toward the middle of the nineteenth century by Victor Le Clerc and Thomas Wright, who worked hand in hand. The errors of Dom Rivet were corrected by Victor Le Clerc, "Jean de Garlande, poète et grammarien (Addition au tome VIII, 83-98)," *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXI (1847, the copy in the reading room of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, is corrected 1850), 369-72. In Vol. XXII (1852), 77-103, "Jean de Garlande, auteur d'un poème De triumphis ecclesiae," he made a long abstract of the *De triumphis ecclesiae*, which Thomas Wright was preparing for publication from the unique manuscript in London, and of which he had made a copy for Le Clerc, now preserved in Bibliothèque nationale MS nouv. acq. lat. 1225. In the same volume, XXII, 948-50, Le Clerc made some additions, and on pp. 11-13 E. Littré reviewed the work of Géraud in his article, "Magistri Johannis de Garlandia Dictionarius." Thomas Wright's early studies on John of Garland bore fruit in his edition, *Johannis de Garlandia De triumphis ecclesiae*, London, Roxburghe Club, 1856, and in *A volume of vocabularies from the tenth century to the fifteenth* (A library of national antiquities published by Joseph Mayer at his own expense), I, London, 1857, pp. x-xi, 120-38, which gave a new edition of the *Dictionarius*. Interest

An important chapter in the history of learning, and especially the history of Latin language and literature, cannot be written adequately until we know all that John of Garland can teach us.

It must not be supposed that the following sketch of his life and works aims to supply this want. Many painful and tedious researches have taught the author that the time is not ripe for such definitive work. For a long time to come the cry in medieval studies must be, more texts and better texts. Many of the works of John of Garland have never been published and most of them have never been edited properly. No one has attempted to coördinate his writings and to compare them closely with other similar products of the time. One of the reasons for the tardiness of synthetic work on John of Garland is the wide dispersion of the manuscripts of his works. One would suppose that the bulk of them would be found in Paris where he wrote and labored during the greater portion of his life; but so few of them are preserved there that Thurot, in his monumental work on grammar in the middle ages, scarcely mentions John of Garland who was above all a grammarian.⁴ Since his works are so fundamental in a study of medieval Latin in its most prolific era, the Mediaeval Academy of America, founded in 1925, could do no better to commence its promised series of texts than by furthering a critical edition of the collected works of John of Garland.

in the works of John of Garland was kept alive by Ludwig Rockinger, "Poetria magistri Iohannis anglici de arte prosayca metrica et rithmica," in *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, IX, part I, 485-512, München, 1863), and Aug. Scheler, "Trois traités de lexicographie latine du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle: (1) Johannes de Garlandia, Dictionarius; (2) Alex. Neckam, De utensilium nominibus; (3) Adae Parvipontani, De utensilibus ad domum regendam pertinentibus ad magistrum Anselmum epistola," *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, Leipzig, VI (1865), 43-59, VII (1866), 58-74, 155-73, VIII (1867), 75-93; also printed in book form, *Lexicographie latine du XII^e et du XIII^e siècles; trois traités de Jean de Garlande, Alexander Neckam et Adam du Petit-Pont*, publiés avec les gloses françaises, Leipzig, 1867. About the same time the first attempt was made to treat John of Garland as a living personality rather than as a mere bibliographical riddle, by A. F. Gatiien-Arnoult, "Jean de Garlande, docteur-régent de grammaire à l'université de Toulouse de 1229 à 1232," *Revue de Toulouse et du Midi de la France* (1866), 117-37, and his "Histoire de l'Université de Toulouse [1229-1239], fragment," extrait des *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, inscriptions et belles-lettres de Toulouse* (1877). In a very learned article B. Hauréau, "Notice sur les oeuvres authentiques ou supposées de Jean de Garlande," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, Paris, XXVII, part II (1879), 1-86, made the greatest single contribution to the knowledge of our author and brought up to date all the notices in the *Histoire littéraire*, and C. L. K[ingsford] made an important summary, "John Garland," *Dictionary of national biography*, London, XX (1889), 436-39, which gives evidence of much independent research but shows that the author ignored the work of Hauréau and Scheler. In the twentieth century considerable new light has been shed on John of Garland. Two Italians have given him attention. Giovanni Mari published the *Poetria* in two sections: *I trattati medievali di ritmica latina*, Milan, 1899, 35-80 [=Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo, classe di lettere, XX (1899), 373-496], and "Poetria magistri Iohannis anglici de arte prosayca metrica et rithmica," *Romanische Forschungen*, Erlangen, XIII (1902), 883-965. Leandro Biadene published extracts from the *Morale scolarium* which illustrate medieval table manners in *Cortesie da tavola di Giovanni di Garlandia*, Erlangen, 1907, extract from *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIII (1907), 1003-17. The most substantial recent contribution has been made by Edwin Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia, ein Schulmann des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, XIX (1909), 1-34, 118-30, to be supplemented by his editions of "Die Exempla honestae

This introduction is designed to furnish an adequate setting for the *Morale scolarium* of John of Garland, which is here published for the first time. This work best reveals the author in his milieu, a staid professor in the midst of his turbulent, unformed, naughty students who need his counsel but who also deserve his love and admiration for devotion to the scholar's life with all its hardships, which in due time made Paris the Athens of the modern world. In spite of all its vexing obscurities and the relative paucity of intimate details about university work the *Morale scolarium* stands as a precious source for the history of intellectual life in a most interesting and important place and time.

LEGENDARY HISTORY OF JOHN OF GARLAND

The career of a more or less obscure professor in the University of Paris in the thirteenth century was not likely to call forth much contemporary notice of him, to say nothing of a biography. In his important article on John of Garland, Tanner wrote that in a Merton manuscript there is much information about him but this book proved to be disappointing because it revealed no new facts about his life.⁵ Fortunately John of Garland not infrequently mentioned himself in his works from which we can piece together a fair sketch of his career. When all his books are carefully edited with all their important glosses we shall probably know still better the main outlines of his life.

vitae des Johannes de Garlandia, eine lateinische Poetik des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIX (1910), 131-54, 926, and his *Der Cornutus des Johannes de Garlandia, ein Schulbuch des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Erster Theil, Berlin, 1908, Zweiter Theil, *Der Novus Cornutus des Otto von Lüneburg*, 1909. The *Liber de constructionibus*, newly discovered in a Basel manuscript, was described by M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, I-II, Freiburg-i.-B., 1909-11, II, 116-17. In 1909 Charles H. Haskins made important contributions to our knowledge of the works of John of Garland in an article entitled "A list of text-books from the close of the twelfth century," which is now reprinted in a revised form in his *Studies in the history of mediaeval science*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1924, 356-76. Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *British Museum: Catalogue of western manuscripts in the Old Royal and Kings Collections*, 3 vols., London, 1921, II, 53, 151, revealed new works of our author. John Edwin Sandys, *A history of classical scholarship from the sixth century B. C. to the end of the middle ages*, Cambridge, ed. 3, 1921, 550, gives the most recent brief summary. The latest contribution to our knowledge of John of Garland was made by Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle: recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge* (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, no. 238), Paris, 1924, 40-41, 378-79 and *passim*. When my work was finished, A. De Poorter, conservateur de la bibliothèque de Bruges, kindly gave me proof-sheets of his article, "Catalogue des manuscrits de grammaire latine médiévale de la bibliothèque de Bruges," in *Revue des bibliothèques* (1926), 103-37, which is particularly valuable on account of its description of the works of John of Garland contained in the manuscripts of Bruges.

² *A history of criticism and literary taste in Europe from the earliest texts to the present day*, I, *Classical and mediaeval criticism*, Edinburgh and London, 1900, 408. In the index he assigns John of Garland to the twelfth century. It should be noted on the other hand that John Edwin Sandys not only gave John of Garland considerable space in his *History of classical scholarship* but that he even included him in his brief history of Latin scholarship in *A companion to Latin studies*, Cambridge, 1910, 848, and in *A short history of classical scholarship*, Cambridge, 1915, 156.

³ *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum*, part III, London, 1913, 681.

So early as the beginning of the fifteenth century Boston of Bury shrouded the identity of John of Garland by stating that he flourished about 1040 A.D.⁶ Bale (1548), the Magdeburg Centuries (1567), Pits (1619), Du Cange (1678), Oudin (1722), Fabricius (1734-46), and Leyser (1735) repeated this fundamental error and rooted it so firmly that it caused confusion far into the nineteenth century.⁷ All these authors accepted without question that John of Garland was an Englishman and some added the embellishment that he left England due to the incursions of the Danes.

Confusion became worse confounded in 1747 when the learned Dom Rivet lent the great prestige of the *Histoire littéraire de la France* (VIII, 83-98) to his uncritical contention that John of Garland was born in France shortly after 1000 A.D., that he was named Garlande either because he was born in a village of that name in Brie or because he was of the famous French house of Garlande, that he went to England with William the Conqueror where he dedicated his *De mysteriis ecclesie* to the bishop of London, and that he died in England or in France not long after 1081. These fallacies were at once spread by Moreri⁸ and were still slavishly accepted in 1837 by H. Géraud in the face of conflicting testimony found in the *Dictionarius* which he edited in that year. The mention in the *Dictionarius* of the death of Simon de Montfort at the siege of Toulouse in 1218 he explained as an interpolation, he searched diligently for sieges of Toulouse in the eleventh century, and, on the basis of his findings, argued that John of Garland probably lived on toward the end of the eleventh century. Even the learned Weiss in the *Biographie universelle* inclined to follow Rivet in 1856 and thus popularized a very confused account of the life of John of Garland.⁹

A year after Dom Rivet caused these difficulties bishop Tanner accumulated a wealth of evidence in his *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (1748) to show that an

⁴ Charles Thurot, *Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen-âge*, in *Notice et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale et autres bibliothèques*, XXII, part II, Paris, 1868. He printed part of John of Garland's *Poetria* on pp. 453-57 but he did not know who wrote it. He used Thomas Wright and J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquiae antiquae*, 2 vols., London, 1841, I, 30-32, and a manuscript designated AA.

⁵ "In MS Merton bibl. Q. iii, I, plurima de Joh. de Garlandia recitantur," T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, London, 1748, 310. This is now Oxford, Merton College, MS CCXCIX (11), which contains a hitherto unknown copy of the *Integumenta* of John of Garland, which see below. When I was in Oxford the library of Merton College was closed. I owe thanks to Rev. Herbert E. Salter, research fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who located the manuscript for me and determined that Tanner's note is misleading. We nevertheless should be grateful to him because it led to the discovery of another manuscript of the *Integumenta*.

⁶ It is possible, although not at all probable, that this error was due to confusion with the computist Gerland, who flourished in the second half of the eleventh century as C. H. Haskins has shown in *Studies in the history of mediaeval science*, 85.

⁷ Thus E. Böcking in his extremely learned work, *Ulrichi Hutteni operum supplementum*, II, Leipzig, 1869, 376-77, still dated John of Garland about 1040 A.D.

⁸ Louis Moreri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique*, new edition, 10 vols., Paris, 1759, V, 77.

⁹ *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, new edition, under the direction of M. Michaud, Paris, XV (1856), 581.

Englishman named John of Garland wrote important books in the first half of the thirteenth century. Unfortunately he did not drive his argument fully home and concluded that the John of Garland placed by Boston of Bury in the eleventh century must be another person. Curiously enough his important findings remained practically unknown to the world of scholarship for almost a century. In 1842 F. W. Otto was puzzled by the epilogue in one of two manuscripts of the *Carmen de mysteriis ecclesie* which laments the death of Alexander of Hales in 1245, a date which does not harmonize with the traditional year 1040 attached to John of Garland, but he did not go farther than to conclude that John of Garland could not be the author of the *Carmen de mysteriis ecclesie*.¹⁰ In 1846 Thomas Wright finally placed John of Garland clearly and definitely in the right place and century.¹¹ He refuted Dom Rivet and Géraud, exhibited a good deal of British wrath at the flimsy arguments used by the former to make John of Garland a Frenchman, and then proved from the *De triumphis ecclesie* that John was in Toulouse and Paris in the thirteenth century and that he was born in England. Be it a sin of omission or commission, Wright did not mention Tanner. The next year Victor Le Clerc made amends for the errors of Rivet and reached the conclusions of Wright with more elaboration and additional proofs.¹² He mentioned both Wright and Tanner. The credit for having dispelled the legend of John of Garland is usually given to Le Clerc. It belongs to Tanner, Wright, and Le Clerc in the order in which they are named.¹³

BIRTHPLACE AND YOUTH

John of Garland tells us that he was born in England.¹⁴ About the year and place of his birth, his parentage, and his boyhood we know nothing except that he was not of high lineage (*Morale scolarium*, line 215). The *locus classicus* which

¹⁰ Edited in *Commentarii critici in codices bibliothecae academicae Gissensis*, Gissae, 1842, 131–51; see also 86–87.

¹¹ *Essays on subjects connected with the literature, popular superstitions, and history of England in the middle ages*, 2 vols., London, 1846, I, 215–17.

¹² *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXI (1847), 369–72. See also XXII (1852), 77–103.

¹³ The petty scholastic jealousies to which a lack of full information often gives rise are illustrated by the following correspondence in *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux* (Notes and Queries français), Paris, I (1864). On p. 227 V. Gay asked whether John of Garland wrote his Dictionary about 1080 according to M. Géraud and the authors of the *Histoire littéraire*, or rather after 1218 as seems to be indicated by paragraph XLVIII of the *Dictionarius*. On p. 345 E. J. B. R. replied that the old error of Dom Rivet was corrected by Le Clerc but that nevertheless the *Biographie universelle* repeated it. If that can happen in France, he continues, it is not astonishing that Graesse, *Lehrbuch*, has fallen into the same trap and that Thomas Wright, in his *De triumphis ecclesiae*, 1856, and in his *Volume of vocabularies*, 1857, 120, thinks that he is bringing new light on a subject which Le Clerc cleared up ten years before and which Wright calls "a very strange blunder of the French bibliographers."

¹⁴ Various manuscripts of his books call him John the Englishman, e.g., Incipit Parisiana poetria magistri Johannis Anglici de Garlandia, Bruges MS 546, fol. 148v; Jo. de Garlandia Angli Epithalamium B. Marie Virginis, MS no. 4 in Library of Kersall Cell (Lancashire), now in Chetham Library, Manchester. E. Böcking, *Ulrichi Hutteni operum supplementum*, II (1869), 376, says: "Anglus sive Hibernus," but does not state his authority for this alternative.

enables us to estimate the date of his birth is found in his *De triumphis ecclesie*.¹⁵ It is the important passage in which he describes his teacher in Oxford, John of London. John of Garland is speaking of the reign of king John of England. After referring to the capture of the castle of Montauban in Poitou which king John took with his Gascon troops, August 1, 1206, and his expedition into Ireland in 1210, John of Garland unexpectedly inserts this interesting passage and then goes on to describe the king's submission to the pope which occurred in May, 1213. The time when John of London lectured in Oxford (*in hoc tempore*) may therefore be taken to have been about 1210-1213. It may also be assumed with a fair degree of probability that John of Garland sat as a student at his feet about that time "as a youth" which may be taken to mean that he was not over twenty years of age. John of Garland, therefore, was probably born about 1195.¹⁶ We shall see that he was probably still living in 1272.

This description of his teacher in Oxford, John of London, is very precious. In the first place it definitely associates John of Garland with the University of Oxford, and in the second place it throws light on a hitherto obscure professor of

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Effectus laicus fuit hoc [Wright has *hic*] in tempore doctor
 Oxoniae, vigit sensibus ipse tamen.
 Omni litterula privatus, scivit et ivit
 Ut laicus, sero vir Plato, mane rudis.
 Hic de Londoniis fuerat, dictusque Johannes,
 Philosophos juveni legerat ante mihi.
 Praedixit populo praefatus bella futura,
 Discipulisque dedit haec documenta suis.
 Aere surgentes tenues aliquando vapores
 Frigore constrictam constituere nivem.
 Aere largato per Phoebi spicula, grando
 Turget, sic pluviae gutta gelata cadit.
 Aerias nubes si sol dissolvit, et illas
 Inpellit ventus, fit pluvialis aqua.
 Nubibus elisis inflammant aethera venti,
 Sic aliquando cadens fulmen ad ima venit.
 E tellure cava cupiens erumpere ventus
 Hanc movet, et motu moenia saepe ruunt.
 Solis ab opposito se curvat discolor iris,
 Oceanumque bibens nubibus haurit aquas.
 Phoebus pallescit objecto corpore lunae,
 Terrae lunares inficit umbra genas.
 Frigidus et siccus ventus vapor est resolutus
 Ex terris et aquis, sic Avicenna canit.
 Accidit alterius formae commixtio ventis,
 Quam casus confert ex regione ista."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae* (ed. Wright), pp. 53-54.

¹⁶ Recent biographers have usually placed his birth about 1180. They have failed to take into account the sound reasoning of Gatiien-Arnoult, "Jean de Garlande," *Révue de Toulouse* (1866), 117 ff., who thought that he was born about 1190.

Oxford whose place there may turn out to have been one of much importance.¹⁷ John of Garland describes him as a self-made layman who, without any educational advantages in his youth, rose to a doctorate in Oxford where he became a veritable Plato. The common people he satisfied with predictions of future wars but to his students he lectured learnedly on natural philosophy, on the causes of snow, hail, rain, thunder and lightning, and earthquakes, how the rainbow draws water to the clouds from the sea, the causes of eclipses of sun and moon, and about winds. That John of Garland pondered these lectures well may be seen from the *Morale scolarium* (ll. 267-70). Today we are beginning to see ever more clearly that in the first half of the thirteenth century there was an 'Oxford school' of masters who stressed the importance of the natural sciences and the languages.¹⁸ The two most important exponents of this school were Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon. The latter tells us that master John of London belonged to this interesting group of scholars,¹⁹ and that he and Peter of Maricourt were the only perfect mathematicians.²⁰ It is altogether likely that John of London was a teacher of Roger Bacon and throughout a long life did much to further the study of mathematics and the natural sciences in Oxford. When John of Garland knew him he seems to have been one of the enthusiastic expounders of the "New Aristotote" which had lately made its influence felt in western Europe.

¹⁷ Although H. Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, Berlin, 1885, 246, had briefly touched upon John of London and had referred to the description given by John of Garland, H. Rashdall, *The universities of Europe in the middle ages*, II (1895), 526, relegated him to a footnote and did not refer to this important passage in John of Garland's *De triumphis ecclesie*. In another footnote, II, 363, however, he gives us the welcome bit of information that master John of London was still teaching in Oxford in 1252, for his name appears in a document of that year. C. E. Mallet, *A history of the University of Oxford*, I-II, London, 1924, does not mention John of London. Even R. T. Gunther, *Early science in Oxford*, 2 v., Oxford, 1923 (Oxford Historical Society, v. 77-78), II, 59, gives no new information.

¹⁸ For a readable sketch of the Franciscans of this school see A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan history*, Manchester and London, 1917, lecture VI, "The Franciscan School at Oxford: Grosseteste and Roger Bacon."

¹⁹ "Et planum est in eis qui floruerunt in his scientiis, sicut dominus Robertus . . . et frater Adam de Marisco, et magister Johannes Londonius," quoted by Emile Charles, *Roger Bacon*, Bordeaux, 1861, 15.

²⁰ "Secunda radix istius difficultatis est quod oporteret habere mathematicos optimos, qui non solum scirent ea, quae translata sunt et facta, sed addere ad opera eorum, quod est facile bonis mathematicis. Non sunt enim nisi duo perfecti, scilicet magister Jo. London. et magister Petrus de Maharn-curia Picardus," *Opus tertium*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, London, 1859, 34. The *Opus tertium* was written in 1267. Bacon speaks of John of London as if he were still alive in that year, which is not impossible since we have seen (note 17 above) that he was an active professor at Oxford in 1252. Assuming that he was about thirty years old when he had risen to fame in Oxford about 1213, he would have been about 84 years old in 1267. Thus in a tentative fashion we may state the dates of master John of London ca. 1185-ca. 1270.

In the *Dictionary of national biography*, XXIX, 448, and in many another place, he is confounded with the so-called John of London, the bright boy whom Roger Bacon chose to be his messenger to pope Clement IV in 1267. So early as 1733 S. Jebb, *Fratri Rogeri Bacon, Opus majus*, London, 1733, praefatio, vii, combated that error and ventured to guess that master John of London was identical with John Peckam. Emile Charles, *Roger Bacon*, Bordeaux, 1861, 15, proved that Jebb's hypothesis was not tenable. He in turn suggested the friend of Robert Grosseteste, John

To us it is very interesting to see John of Garland subjected in his youth to the influences of the 'Oxford school' which is now being recognized as one of the chief intellectual forces of the thirteenth century.²¹ It will help us to understand certain of his characteristics, such as his leaning toward medicine and natural philosophy, and may in some measure account for his unusual love for the study of language and literature which attracted so little attention in Paris.

"Although my mother was England, France was my nurse, and I prefer my nurse to my mother."²² Thus John of Garland frankly confesses that, like so many other Englishmen of his day, he was altogether content to spend most of his life as a scholar in France. We have no documents to show when he left England. It is not very likely that he went to France in the last years of John's

Basingstoke, who died in 1252, and added, "Cette hypothèse a encore pour elle la mention que Jean de Garlande fait d'un certain Jean de Londres, déjà célèbre par son savoir en 1216, et qui ne peut être Jean Peckam." Meanwhile Thomas Wright had reached the correct conclusion that in the thirteenth century we have to do with two distinct men named John of London, and that John of London, the teacher of John of Garland, "must, therefore, be considered as an addition to our known list of English scholars in the middle ages," *Johannis de Garlandia, De triumphis ecclesiae*, London, 1856, introduction, v. Hauréau, *Notice sur les œuvres authentiques ou supposées de Jean de Garlande*, 71-73, resolved the questions which Le Clerc had raised in 1852 and accepted the conclusions of Wright.

Montague Rhodes James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. lxxiv-lxxvii, found that a John of London donated nearly eighty books to the library of St. Augustine's Abbey. Of these, twenty-three dealt with mathematics and astronomy and the same number with medicine. From the dates of the books he concludes that the donor lived late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century, and that he was John of London, the favorite student of Roger Bacon. Although Bacon never actually calls this boy John of London, the old bibliographers, Leland, Bale, Pits, Antony à Wood, and Tanner, all agree on this name. Hence James is inclined to allow it to stand although we have no contemporary evidence for it. With due respect for the learned reasoning of James, which I cannot prove faulty, I nevertheless am inclined to believe that time will show that there was but one eminent John of London in the thirteenth century, namely the teacher of John of Garland, and that he was the donor of the above mentioned books.

A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, Oxford, 1892, 206, says that the *Epistolae fratris Rogerii Baconis de secretis operibus artis et naturae et de nullitate magiae* may have been addressed to William of Auvergne or to John of London; see also page 211. In the *Roger Bacon essays*, edited by A. G. Little, Oxford, 1914, 159, David E. Smith calls John "a mysterious John of London" and refers to a MS of *De communibus mathematicis* which is by a Johannes Londoniensis or a Johannes Baudouin. In the same volume, p. 35, Ludwig Baur refers to John of London as "den Astronomen, Mathematiker und Computisten, Johannes von London," whom he lists among the teachers and friends of Roger Bacon. Pierre Duhem, *Le système du monde*, Paris, 1915, III, 239, says that John of London has often been identified with John Hollywood but that this identification is not at all certain. See also his discussion of the *Tables of London* on pp. 237-38.

In his *De triumphis ecclesiae* (ed. Wright, p. 12, l. 23, and p. 26, ll. 23-24) John of Garland sings the praises of two other natural scientists, namely Lucas of Essex and Abel, about whom nothing seems to be known.

²¹ More research is necessary on the connection of this movement with the Graeco-Latin-Mohammedan culture of southern Italy and Sicily through Norman intermediation.

²²

"Anglia cui mater fuerat, cui Gallia nutrix,
Matri nutricem praefero mente [Wright has *mente*] meam.
Six utriusque tamen meritis praeconia justis
Attribuo, niteant ut probitate pares."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae* (ed. Wright), p. 59, ll. 7-10.

troubled reign or when Prince Louis of France was in England with his troops. It is more likely that he left England after Prince Louis signed the Treaty of Lambeth, September 11, 1217, at the beginning of the reign of Henry III.²³

In all probability he went directly to Paris. His very name reveals that Paris became his home. Throughout the centuries scribes, bibliographers, and literary historians puzzled over the name Johannes de Garlandia. In the manuscripts the name is spelled variously. Garlandria, Garlondia, Garlandius, Garlandus, Gallandia, Gallandus, Gallandius, Gallandinus, Gallandria, Garlandea, Gerlandia, Gerlandus, Garlangia, Guerlande, are some of the forms. As we saw above, Dom Rivet deduced that he must be connected with the famous French house of Garlande which played an important rôle in the history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In similar vein John Prince claimed him as one of the worthies of Devonshire, England, where, during the reign of Henry III, a family of Garlands lived in a place named Garland in Chulmleigh.²⁴ After demolishing the conjecture

²³ Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 309, argued that John of Garland was in Paris so early as 1204. Wright, *De triumphis ecclesiae*, vi, makes the same statement. Both rely on the following passage in the *De mysteriis ecclesie* which occurs at the end where John laments the death of Alexander of Hales who died in 1245, and which Wright quotes as follows from MS Cotton. Claudius A. viii. (Tanner and Wright both give the title of this poem *Carmen de Officiis Ecclesiae*, although near the foot of p. 309 in Tanner, MS Cotton. Claudius A. viii, along with two other manuscripts, are said to contain *De mysteriis rerum quae sunt in ecclesia, ad Fulconum episc. London.*):

"Mille ducentenis quater inde delegat annis
Virginis a partu, qui nos censura Johannis
Missam legatus pro defuncto celebravit, etc."

As printed by Wright these lines do not make sense and only vaguely suggest the date 1204. When F. W. Otto edited this poem in 1842, he printed:

"Mille ducentenis quater inde decem ligat annis
Virginis a partu, qui nos censura . . .
Missam legatus pro defuncto celebravit,"

Le Clerc, in *Histoire littéraire*, XXI, 372, revised this passage from MS Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 1640, and read:

"Mille ducentenis quater et denis ligat annis
Virginis a partu quinos censura Iohannis.
Missam legatus pro defuncto celebravit,"

Here we clearly have the date 1245, the year in which Alexander of Hales died in Paris.

Wright went one step farther in error when he said that John of Garland studied in Paris under Alain de Lille who died in 1202, basing his conclusion on the following lines in the *De triumphis ecclesiae*, p. 74, ll. 11-14:

"Flandria quem genuit vates studiosus Alanus
Contudit haereticos, edomuitque prius.
Virgilio major, et Homero certior, idem
Exauxit studii Parisiensis opes."

C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the history of mediaeval science*, 359, pointed out that those lines give no indication that John of Garland was the pupil of Alain de Lille, and that the *De mysteriis ecclesie* does not prove that the former was in Paris in 1204. Haskins did not see Le Clerc's lines quoted above but his keen critical sense detected that something was wrong with the words *qui nos* as printed by Otto and Wright in the second line.

²⁴ *Worthies of Devon*, Exeter, 1701, 319-20. This reference to Prince comes from the *Dictionary of national biography*, XX, 436-39.

of Rivet, Le Clerc suggested that John might have been surnamed de Garlandia because he taught in the clos de Garlande where some of the oldest schools of the University of Paris were established.²⁵

Le Clerc was right. Hauréau found that John of Garland himself says so in one of his works.²⁶ This permits us to picture John of Garland establishing himself about 1220 in a house with a garden in a pleasant close which had been a fief of the noble Garlande family a century or more.²⁷ From his reference to France as his nurse some have argued that he must have been a student in Paris and probably took degrees there but the figurative language of John must not be taken too literally and we must remember that the degree system was in its very infancy when he came to Paris. Since he tells us that he wrote his first book for boys when he himself was still a boy²⁸ he probably began his teaching in Paris soon after his arrival. It is difficult to picture the spot where he had his home as it was in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Fortunately that region is still one of the few places in modern Paris which retain earmarks of the middle ages. Between the ancient churches of St. Julien-le-Pauvre and St. Severin not far from the Petit-Pont we still have the rue Galande as a relic of the thirteenth century. But let it not be supposed that this and other narrow and congested streets in that quarter of modern Paris give the atmosphere to which John of Garland was accustomed. That region was just being opened up by the real estate men of that day. In 1202 the Abbey of Ste. Geneviève, which had acquired feudal rights in the clos de Garlande, had given it as a fief to Matthew of Montmorency and Mathilda of Garlande, his wife, on condition that all those who built in this close should be of the parish of Ste. Geneviève. Between 1202 and 1225 this new subdivision had been opened up by cutting the rues Galande, des Trois-Portes, des Rats, and du Fouarre, and John of Garland must have been one of the pioneer suburban dwellers in this green region which contrasted so pleasantly with the network of narrow streets beyond the Petit-Pont in the Cité, and which was

²⁵ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXI (1847), 372.

²⁶ Hauréau, *Notice*, 75.

"Anglia, processi de te, cui cesserat orbis,
Angelus accessi Parisiusque fui.
Parisius vici cum sit Garlandia nomen,
Agnomen florens contulit illa mihi."

—*Exempla honestae vitae* (ed. Habel), ll. 94-97.

"Dant Garlandensis florentia sarta Johannis
Flores, Parisius quod dedit hortus ei.
Isti sunt flores vaccinia, nigra ligustra;
Tullius alba dabit floridiore modo."

—*Ibid.*, ll. 196-99.

²⁷ Jaillot, *Recherches sur la Ville de Paris*, V, Quartier Saint-Benoit, Paris, 1782, 65-66. Lebeuf, *Histoire de Paris*, I (1883), 299. See the description of his garden in his *Dictionarius*.

²⁸ See below, p. 107.

rendered secure by the wall of Philip Augustus, completed about 1210. Thus he was one of the earliest teachers of the growing University of Paris who encouraged the swarming of masters and students of arts from the island under the shadow of Notre Dame over the Petit-Pont to the left bank which in due time became the Latin Quarter of scholastic fame. In the second half of the thirteenth century we hear of "scolares Garlandie," "bachalarii in Garlandia," and reminiscing alumni of the University of Paris spoke of the days when they studied together "in Garlandia."²⁹

In all probability John of Garland wrote his *Dictionarius* in those early days of his residence in Paris before he left for Toulouse in 1229.³⁰ This precious record of life in Paris in the first decades of the thirteenth century enables us to know the articles of John of Garland's wardrobe and the vegetables, flowers, and fruits which he grew in his garden; it introduces us to his neighbor William,³¹ it takes us with John on his walks through the streets of Paris to see the merchants on the Grand-Pont sell woollens and purses, the munition works at the gate of St. Lazarre, the poultry shops in the Parvis of Notre Dame; we see how his students are tempted and tricked in a city which, small as it was, seemed as full of the busy bustle of buying and of selling, of eating and of drinking, of work and of play, as it is now. But unfortunately he tells us comparatively little about the details of his life as a teacher and as a member of the institution which was to become the mother of universities. He seems to have had no difficulty in adjusting himself

²⁹ H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1885, 667, and 255, note 145; and *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, I (1889), xvii, 62, 598, 599. J. Echard and J. Quetif *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum*, Paris, 1719, I, 334, explain, "Garlandia feodum est in urbe Parisiorum, in quo est vicus stramineus Gallice *du fouarre*, celebris olim quod in eo solo philosophiae professores omnes docerent. Hinc illorum proverbium, *fuius simul in Garlandia*, vel *hoc tritum est in Garlandia*. See also *ibid.*, 404, and P. Alphandéry, "Y-a-t-il eu un Averroïsme populaire au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle?" *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XLIV (1901), 399.

Another interesting relic of the days when the noble Garlande family was prominent in Paris is the Chapel of St. Aignan on the Rue des Ursins, near the modern Pont d'Arcole, on the Cité. In 1118 Etienne de Garlande, chancellor of France and *dapifer* of the crown, had donated part of the vineyards of the clos de Garlande to found this chapel (Jaillot, *op. cit.*, 66). In one of the biographies of St. Bernard is told the story of the disappointment of the great preacher when one day he unsuccessfully harangued the students on the island to follow him to his monastic retreat. Lebeuf, *op. cit.*, I, 21-23, believes it altogether likely that after the sermon St. Bernard went to the Chapel of St. Aignan to weep bitter tears. During the French Revolution the chapel was converted into a stable. What is left of it is still used for that purpose. The owner will open two doors in the stall which reveal some fine columns thickly draped with cobwebs. To find this chapel follow Marquis de Rochegude and Maurice Dumolin, *Guide pratique à travers le vieux Paris*, Paris, 1923, 43.

The history of the noble Garlande family has been studied recently by Joseph Despont, "Une famille seigneuriale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles: la famille de Garlande," outlined in *Ecole nationale des chartes: Position des thèses*, 1924, Paris, 67-71.

³⁰ See below, p. 130. The reference to siege engines and the death of Simon de Montfort in Toulouse in 1218 does not fix that year as the *terminus a quo* of the writing of the *Dictionarius*. It seems very likely that these paragraphs were added to the book when John of Garland took it with him to Toulouse.

³¹ See *Morale scolarium*, line 609.

to the life of an expatriated Englishman in Paris. Although he preferred to live in Paris for professional reasons he avoided invidious comparisons and constantly stressed the virtues of both the French and the English.³²

IN TOULOUSE, 1229-1232

An exciting break in the quiet scholar's life of John of Garland came in 1229. In that year lectures had been suspended in Paris owing to a carnival riot of the students in the suburb of St. Marcel. Shortly after Easter most of the masters and students left Paris in protest against the alleged injustice of the authorities of both church and state.³³

Meanwhile the Albigensian wars had been brought to a close by the public submission of count Raymond VII of Toulouse before the cardinal legate of the pope, Romain Frangipani, in the Parvis of Notre Dame de Paris, April 12, 1229, and by the Treaty of Paris drawn up that same month between Louis IX and Raymond VII. One of the articles of the treaty provided for the creation of a university in Toulouse and stipulated that for ten years count Raymond should pay the salaries of fourteen professors, four masters of theology (50 marks silver), two masters of canon law (30 marks), six masters of arts (20 marks), and two grammarians (10 marks). The cardinal legate and the bishop of Toulouse were

³²

"Quod Francos fortes faciat, patet ordine rerum,
Religio, belli gratia, firma fides;
Anglos argenti defendit copia, gentis
Ingenium, cleri gloria, legis amor."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae* (ed. Wright), p. 21, ll. 31-34.

"Sunt duo sacrati reges, est Gallicus unus,
Anglicus est alter, vivit uterque potens."

—*Ibid.*, p. 23, ll. 21-22. See also note 22 above and the following lines in the *Morale scolarium*, 97-101, 289-90, 393-94, 467, 613-616.

³³ In the eyes of John of Garland these events in Paris made of the year 1229 an *annus mirabilis* when the forces of nature were convulsed together with the university. He wrote:

"Annum millenum Domini, centum bis et annos,
Vigintique novem, semita solis agit,
Sanguine Parisius studium dissolvitur, orbe
In toto sentit praelia sacra Syon.
Andegavis studium quod particulare cohaeret,
Illud dissolvunt proxima bella novum.
Gentibus heu! miseris elementa minantur, inundat
Unda nimis, turbat aera tristis hyems.
Trecensis ruit ecclesiae sublime cacumen,
Et turres multas ventus ad ima jacit.
Parisius lapsa est fratrum domus alta minorum,
Valle quidem viridi quam statuere sibi.
Italiam terraemotus perterret, et aether
Intonat horribilis, subsequiturque fames.
Tholosam ferit ista fames, sed Fulco beatus
Pauperibus vitam prorogat aere, cibo."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae* (ed. Wright), p. 99, ll. 1-16.

to select the masters, but these dignitaries deputed that detail to the abbot of Grand-Selve who probably chose most of them in Paris where the dispersion of the university had just taken place.³⁴

We know the names of two of the masters chosen to go to Toulouse, Roland of Cremona, master of theology, and John of Garland, master of grammar. Show-ered with presents, and in the company of the cardinal legate, the young grammar master of Paris went southward on his grand adventure.³⁵ Our chief information concerning the first years of the University of Toulouse comes from the *De triumphis ecclesie* of John of Garland which is preserved in a unique manuscript in the British Museum. At the end of the fifth book of that poem has been inserted a "Letter transmitted by the masters of Toulouse to all the universities of the world." Written in John of Garland's florid style, it is generally conceded that he wrote it or at least was the chief editor. Denifle has printed this letter in the cartulary of the University of Paris and has dated it "towards the end of 1229, in Toulouse."³⁶ It is very significant that Denifle, in his long search for university documents, did not find a single copy of this letter, but was obliged to print it from John of Garland's book. Thus we have no evidence that it was ever sent broadcast as the lines which introduce it and its superscription would lead one to believe. In the absence of such proof it is fairly safe to assume that it is little more than a rhetorical exercise, such as are found in abundance in his *Poetria*, penned by John of Garland in the first flush of the enthusiasm stirred up by his new surroundings in Toulouse. As such it would lose much of the worth which has been attached to it in the history of universities but it would still be a valuable record of the first days of the University of Toulouse as seen through the eyes of John of Garland.

In glowing colors of rhetoric this letter called upon masters and students everywhere to come south to rear the cedar of faith where heretical depravity had spread its forests of thorns. The Moses of this glorious enterprise, the cardinal legate of the pope, would grant to those who came plenary indulgence for their sins. Here, in this promised land, which flows with milk and with honey, lectures and disputations would be conducted with more regularity and care than in the University of Paris. Those who should wish to penetrate into the very marrow and heart of nature could here listen to lectures on the books of nature, prohibited in Paris. Scholastic liberty was guaranteed. The liberality of the count of Toulouse would pay the salaries of the masters and would protect all members of

³⁴ For the career of John of Garland in Toulouse I have drawn largely upon the articles of Gatien-Arnoult which see in note 1 above. The chief source of information is the *De triumphis ecclesie*. There is no evidence to justify the theory of Th. Wright, *De triumphis ecclesiae*, p. vi, that John of Garland was in Toulouse about 1218.

³⁵

"Sed Grandis-silvae pius abbas dictus Helyas,
Sub duce legato, proxima fraena capit.
Parisiis doctos abbas elegit, at illos
Duxit legatus munera larga pluens."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae*, p. 93, ll. 11-14.

³⁶ *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, I, 129.

the university. Here wine and bread and meat and fish could all be had for very little. If then, he exclaims, you wish to find even more good things than are detailed above, leave your parental firesides, sling your mantels over your shoulders, and fulfil this maxim of Seneca: "I will see all lands as if they were mine and mine as if they belonged to all; thus I shall live as if I were conscious that all the world knew me; for it is good in man to attempt lofty enterprises and ever to plan for even greater things."

If our interpretation of this famous document be correct the above sentiments were those of John of Garland, visionary northerner from the Oxford school. They may not have been shared with him by a single other soul in Toulouse, for he, like Roger Bacon, was destined to be a champion of unpopular causes in the thirteenth century. The oft-quoted sentence about the books of nature of Aristotle, which were prohibited at Paris in 1210 and 1215,³⁷ is probably nothing more than a private opinion of a student of John of London who, long ago, with many others in Oxford, was bred in the idea that more study of nature and of the languages was desperately needed in the thirteenth century. Fresh from his work with John of London, John of Garland must have been surprised and pained when he heard in Paris of the stupid attempt to suppress the books of Aristotle, which, as we well know, was never successful.³⁸ This then was a natural pæan of rejoicing over the victory of Aristotle as was his "Vicit Aristotiles" written several years later.³⁹

Let it not be supposed, however, that John of Garland furnished a leaven of liberalism in the University of Toulouse, which had been founded to serve as a bulwark against Albigensian heresy as is clear from the sermon *ad clericos scholares* of the official preacher of the University, Helinand, who began with his famous denunciation of all the great universities of his day on the general theme that learning of all kinds is not only useless, but actually harmful without virtue and faith.⁴⁰ Soon the masters of the university began to allude to heresy in their lectures. It is not likely that John of Garland avoided this indiscretion.⁴¹ He

³⁷ "Libros naturales, qui fuerant Parisius prohibiti, poterunt illic audire quo volunt nature sinum medullitus perscrutari."—*Ibid.*, 131.

³⁸ See L. J. Paetow, *The battle of the seven arts by Henri d'Andeli*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1914, 20.

³⁹

"Vicit Aristotiles, petimus cognoscere quaedam
Per quae lucescant altera certa magis."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae* (ed. Wright), p. 7, ll. 9–10.

These lines occur in the first book which was probably written about 1250. In the first book, page 13, line 1, there is a reference to Queen Blanche as still living (she died 1252), and shortly after, in the second book, page 22, line 9, is mentioned the Ste. Chapelle of Paris, which was consecrated in 1248.

⁴⁰ Paetow, *The battle of the seven arts*, 17.

⁴¹ He wrote: "Pravos extirpat et doctor, et ignis, et ensis."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae* (ed. Wright), p. 92, l. 31

and again p. 101, ll. 15–16:

"Non solum sanctos spreverunt, sed sacra scripta,
Haeretici, quorum serpit ab ore dolus."

felt impelled to write books on the marriage of the Holy Virgin, on hope and faith, on the lives of the apostles, and on the miracles which God had performed in behalf of St. George. He argued with the people of Toulouse about their errors in the computation of the date of Easter.⁴² He applauded the zeal of his colleague, Roland of Cremona, master of theology, who headed a mob which destroyed the house of a deceased heretic leader named Galvanus, dug up his body, and dragged it through the streets to burn it outside of the city. Charged as the air then was with the strains of the *Chanson de Roland*, John of Garland compared his zealous colleague with the great hero of the epic, whereas he condemned poor Galvanus as baser even than Gawain.⁴³

In spite of such enthusiasm for the faith the position of the 'carpet-bag' professors soon became untenable. On the one hand they were mocked by the intellectual class of the south and on the other hand they probably soon became suspected by the tribunal of inquisitors. Although John of Garland does not speak of this it is easy to see how his unusual ideas about Aristotelian science and the works of pagan classical authors might have caused trouble between him and the Dominican inquisitors who now took full charge in Toulouse. He wisely preferred to stress the point that count Raymond failed to pay salaries regularly, and thus, after three years of residence in Toulouse, he was the first to leave his post.⁴⁴

Fearing treachery in Toulouse he took to a ship in the Garonne only to fall into the hands of rough sailors who planned to carry him on to Castel-Sarrasin to rob him or to do him still greater harm. Suddenly he observed a cloud in the form of a shield and, pointing to it, cried, "behold the sky denounces war and the heavenly avenger of the church is not far distant." The superstitious sailors were terrorized by this phenomenon which lasted a full hour. Meanwhile John of Garland made his escape and joined a party of pilgrims near Moissac. In their company he made his way safely to Paris, sometime in the year 1232,⁴⁵ where the University of Paris had reopened after the great dispersion.

⁴² See below, p. 142.

⁴³ "Italus huc veniens ad robora nostra magister
Rolandus, verbi claruit ense sacri,
Forti Rolando major, quia corpora stravit
Ille, sed haereticum contudit ille nefas.
Gaudia qui vana Galvani tradidit igni,
Dispar Galvano nam fuit iste probo."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae*, p. 101, ll. 7–12.

⁴⁴ "Doctorum primo sunt certa salaria, donec
Cuncta negans livor coepit habere locum.
Florentis studii paulatim turba recedit,
Haec ego qui scribo cuncta recedo prius."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae*, p. 105, ll. 5–8.

These lines come immediately after an account of the establishment of the Dominicans in Toulouse. John of Garland's three-year residence in Toulouse is attested by ll. 3–4 on p. 100:

"Illic exegi spatium studiosa trienni
Tempora, Romano sub duce lector ibi."

⁴⁵ John of Garland tells the story of his escape in *De triumphis ecclesiae*, p. 105, ll. 9–24.

LATER YEARS AND DEATH

It is regrettable that we know so little about John of Garland's later years, which covered an important period in the development of the University of Paris. His sojourn in Toulouse had done much to widen his vision and to develop his powers as a writer and as a teacher. Although he merely began the writing of his epic poem, the *De triumphis ecclesie*, in Toulouse, he in all probability conceived there its general plan, which exhibits a good deal of interest in history as well as in contemporary events. His inspection and minute description of the engine which hurled the missile fatal to Simon de Montfort,⁴⁶ indicates that he was an interested student and traveler and lends weight to the argument that he wrote a guidebook for sightseers in Toulouse.⁴⁷

No doubt his reputation had increased in Paris on account of his call to Toulouse. He tells us that some of his works were published in 1234 and that he received public recognition in Paris.⁴⁸ We know that he went up to read in the library of the abbey of Ste. Geneviève, of which he was a parishioner.⁴⁹ Directly or indirectly he dedicated his works, in whole or in part, to some of the great men of his day, such as the Englishmen Fulk Bassett, bishop of London, John Blund, chancellor of York, Aymer, half-brother of king Henry III of England; Guillaume d'Auvergne, bishop of Paris, Pierre (Parvus) and Gauthier de Château-Thierry, both chancellors of Paris, and the Cardinal legate Romain Bonaventura.⁵⁰ In 1241 he seems to have witnessed the famous exhibition, by king Louis IX and his family, of the crown of thorns and a piece of the holy cross which is described in lines 275-84 of the *Morale scolarium*. He tells us that he was at work in Paris on

⁴⁶ *Dictionarius* (ed. Scheler, 153), paragraph 49.

⁴⁷ Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, 42.

⁴⁸ "Mille ducentenis ter denis quatuor annos
Conjungas annis, sunt edita scripta Johannis
Post incarnatum sacra de virgine verbum,
Istaque Parisius est ars lectoria lecta;
Me vivente meis applaudit gratia dictis
Parysiusque meam gaudet celebrare camenam,
Quamvis saepe stilum livor puerilis obumbret."

—*Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*),

quoted by Scheler, "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VI (1865), 51, from Bruges MS 546, fol. 76v.

Lynn Thorndike, "Public readings of new works in mediaeval universities," in *Speculum*, I (1926), 101-4, gives other instances of such public readings in the thirteenth century which were by no means uncommon. See also *ibid.*, 221, 445-47.

⁴⁹ Hauréau, *Notice*, 8. John of Garland says he drew from the Library of Ste. Geneviève the miracles utilized for his students in his *Miracula B. Marie Virginis*.

⁵⁰ When we discuss the *Commentarius*, which was dedicated to Aymer, we shall see that the nature of the book, as well as its dedication, support the statements of Bale and Pits that John of Garland was called to England to teach the sons of nobles.

his *De triumphis ecclesie* in 1245.⁵¹ Thus he probably was present at the funeral services of Alexander of Hales to whose memory he dedicated some heartfelt verses.⁵²

To the latter half of the career of John of Garland seem to belong some details given by the old bibliographers which at first sight one is inclined to lay aside as mere verbiage inserted to inflate the biographical sketch of an obscure author. Bale describes his early devotion to the arts and his coming to the continent and then tells us that his fame attracted the attention of certain nobles who engaged him to teach Latin and poetry to their children. This increased his reputation to such a degree that he soon gave public lectures to a large number of students whom he incited to worthy studies.⁵³

We shall see presently that Bale divides John of Garland in two and that we are fully justified in utilizing all he says about Johannes Grammaticus as additional information about John of Garland.⁵⁴ Thus Bale tells us definitely that John of Garland frequented the universities of both Oxford and Paris where he acquired titles and such fame that, having returned to England, he was, by a vote of scholars, appointed tutor of the sons of some nobles and magnates; whence he was considered a famous rhetorician and poet in that age of most corrupt blindness, when the arts had degenerated from all purity of diction. Bale adds that certain authors praise him for his erudition but that he thinks it especially noteworthy

⁵¹ See below, p. 111.

⁵² See below, p. 112-13.

⁵³ J. Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae . . . Catalogus*, Basle, 1559, 153: "Ioannes Garlandius, grammaticus et poeta, a primis pueritiae suae annis, bonis artibus et eloquentiae, quales illa dabat aetas, se totum consecravit. Accrescente postea annorum curriculo, dum Anglia Danorum incursionibus vastaretur, relictis patriae suae gymnasiis, ad transmarina studia se contulit: ubi scientias liberales in maiori copia, et ore pleno, veluti ab ipso fonte hauriebat. Hac assidua post honestam educationem diligentia et industria, quam studiis his impendebat, ad unum omnes qui cum illo una discebant, facile vicit. Qui labor adeo non fuit inutilis, ut inde eximium gloriae nomen sibi statim comparaverit. Nam dexteritate et facundia eius delectati quidam nobiles, propositis conditionibus honestis illum retinuerunt, ut Latinae linguae elementis ac poesi pubem excoleret. Unde brevi ad eum magnus scholasticorum confluit numerus, quos publicis lectionibus ad honesta studia incitavit."

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 325, reads as follows: "Ioannes Grammaticus, ab ipsis adolescentiae suae annis literarum bonarum studiis deditus, Oxonii in Anglia, et Parisiis in Galiis, gymnasia non sine pingui proventu ad aliquot annos frequentavit. Eam inter suos laboris et scientiae titulos, tum laudem tum existimationem sibi interim comparavit, ut eruditorum suffragiis, in patriam suam reversus, pro instituendis nobilium ac magnatum filiis didiascalus certis in locis sit designatus. Unde rhetor ac poeta insignis habebatur in eo corruptissimae caecitatis seculo, cum degenerarent artes ab omni sermonis puritate. Quem quoniam ab eruditione quidam scriptores collaudant, ego significandum putavi, scripsisse illum opus quod vocabat Integumenta,

Super-Ovidii Metamorphosin, Lib. 1. Parvus maiori paret, veloxque.

De arte metrica, Lib. 1. Parisiana iubar diffundit gloria.

Compendium grammatices, Lib. 1. Grammaticam trivialis apex si.

Carmina quaedam, Lib. 1.

Et alia nonnulla congegit. Istis temporibus claruisse Ioannes fertur, sed annum a Christi nativitate non addunt scriptores nostri: qui tamen honestam de ipso mentionem faciunt, ei propterea hunc ad praesens locum delegavi." [Bale places this account after a writer who flourished ca. 1270.]

that John wrote the *Integumenta*. He concludes that John the Grammarian is said to have flourished "in these times" [ca. 1270] although writers do not give exact dates.

In 1567 the Magdeburg Centuries repeated the gist of this biography.⁵⁵ The account of Pits in 1619 is much like that of Bale for John of Garland⁵⁶ except that he stresses the reputation of the renowned teacher for his moral instruction, which may be a reference to the *Morale scolarium*. His sketch of Johannes Grammaticus differs only in one particular: he attributes to him a good knowledge of Greek.⁵⁷ This is not an important item as might be supposed for it is a false attribution due to confusion with the Greek scholar, Johannes Philoponus, whose *Opuscula varia Graece* he mentions.⁵⁸

From the *Morale scolarium* we learn that John of Garland made a trip to England which he did not enjoy because of the roughness of the English Channel and the brutality of the seamen.⁵⁹ This authentic piece of information makes it seem likely that we cannot discard the story told by Bale but must rather accept it provisionally as coming from sources which Bale saw and which are no longer available. We have no data to fix the exact time of his visit to England which, however, must have taken place before 1241, the date of the *Morale scolarium*, and probably after his return from Toulouse in 1232.

There is no certainty about the place and year of his death. It was customary to say that he died shortly after 1252 when he penned the last folios of his *De triumphis ecclesie*. Habel, who believed this in 1909, changed his opinion the next year when he found that the *Exempla honeste vite* was written about 1258.⁶⁰ In 1846 Thomas Wright had argued that he was still eminent in Paris in 1267.⁶¹ He based this conclusion on the famous reference of Roger Bacon to John of Garland. In his *Compendium studii philosophiae* Bacon stoutly upheld that we must write "orichalcum" and not "auricalcum" as was taught erroneously by Papias, Hugutio, and Brito. On this point he rested for support on John of Garland who had vehemently inveighed against all who taught otherwise, as Bacon had heard from his own mouth.⁶² This meeting of two kindred spirits from the Oxford school in all probability took place in Paris where Roger Bacon was established about 1245. It would not be surprising to find evidence that the two were friends in Paris. From this chance reference we cannot, with Wright, conclude as an established fact that John of Garland was still alive when it was penned, although the words

⁵⁵ *Ecclesiastica historica*, undecima centuria, Basle, 1567, 654-55.

⁵⁶ *Relationum historicarum*, 184.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 351.

⁵⁸ See below, p. 103 for a discussion of John of Garland's knowledge of Greek.

⁵⁹ *Morale scolarium*, ll. 603-606.

⁶⁰ See below under *Exempla honeste vite*.

⁶¹ T. Wright, *Essays on literature*, I, 215.

⁶² "Et ideo magister Johannes de Garlandia vituperavit omnes, sicut ego ab ejus ore audivi," Fr. Rogeri Bacon, *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita* (ed. J. S. Brewer), I, London, 1859, 453.

distinctly give one that impression.⁶³ It should be noted that the *Compendium studii philosophiae* of Roger Bacon was written about 1272.⁶⁴ Tentatively we may say that John of Garland probably was still alive in Paris about 1272.⁶⁵

CONFUSION OF JOHN OF GARLAND WITH OTHER WRITERS

One of the chief reasons why there has been so much confusion about the life and work of John of Garland is that the old bibliographers cut him in two, relegated one half of him to the eleventh century, allowed the other half to remain in the thirteenth century, and then proceeded to add the members of other writers to the halves in an effort to make them both live as individual and distinct men.

The half of John of Garland which Bale and Pits allowed to remain in the thirteenth century was called Johannes Grammaticus.⁶⁶ To him Bale ascribed the *Integumenta super Ovidii Metamorphosin*, the *Poetria*, the *Compendium grammaticae*, and certain *Carmina*. What the *carmina* may be we can but guess but we know that the other works all belong to John of Garland. To these Pits added *Opuscula varia Graece* and in his biographical sketch wrote that John the Grammarian of the thirteenth century was an accomplished Greek scholar.

In 1748 Tanner reproduced Pits but sounded the warning that some scholars believed that John the Grammarian was identical with John of Garland.⁶⁷ In 1846 Thomas Wright reached the conclusion that John the Grammarian was a mere creature of the imagination,⁶⁸ a verdict accepted by Le Clerc.⁶⁹ This, however, did not eliminate him from the literary history of the middle ages for he was, as we saw, given a place in the *Repertoire* of Chevalier. The fact is that John the Grammarian was more than a creature of the imagination. He was in reality a portion of John of Garland left by the most competent bibliographers in the thirteenth century where he belongs. When the dissevered parts of John of Garland are brought together in their proper place and time John the Grammarian disappears automatically.

⁶³ Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 309, had found this line in Bacon, which he attributed to the *Opus minor*, cap. VII, written about 1267. He concluded, "meminit cujusdam Johannis Gerlandi, quasi contemporanei sui. . . . Sed Baconus hoc scripsit circa A.D. MCCLXVII, ut ex ipsius liquet operibus, quam aetatem Garlandius noster vix attigisse dicendus. Vide tamen, annon duo illius nominis autores extiterint."

⁶⁴ *Roger Bacon essays* (ed. A. G. Little), Oxford, 1914, 403.

⁶⁵ Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, I, 485-90, argued from internal evidence that the author of the *Poetria de arte prosaica, metrica, et ritmica*, wrote about 1270, but his arguments do not hold in the face of what is said below about the date of the work.

⁶⁶ Additional confusion results from the fact that Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 434, says that Joannes Grammaticus flourished 1070. Thomas Warton, *The history of English poetry*, 4 vols., London, 1824, I, dissertation II, p. CXLIX, repeated this date which in 1905 was perpetuated by V. Chevelier, *Repertoire, Bio-bibliographie*, thus: "Jean, grammarien anglais, à Oxford, XI^e siècle, fin."

⁶⁷ *Bibliotheca*, 434.

⁶⁸ *Biographia Britannica literaria: Anglo-Norman period*, London, 1846, 48.

⁶⁹ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXII (1852), 102.

'Chevalier also lists Jean l'Anglais [*Anglicus*], poète.⁷⁰ This poet, John the Englishman, must also be eliminated for he is no other than John of Garland whom Rockinger did not recognize as the author of the *Poetria*.⁷¹

Now that the two halves of John of Garland have been joined we must try to amputate such members of other writers as have been grafted upon one side or the other and to determine whether some of his own members are still missing. This is an extremely delicate operation and cannot possibly be completed owing to the wretched state in which we still find the literary history of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

The relegation of John of Garland to the eleventh century was probably one of the causes of the frequent confusion with the computist Gerland, who lived in that century.⁷² The similarity of their names led even so competent a bibliographer as Tanner to say that Roger Bacon mentioned John of Garland in two places whereas it is clear as day that Bacon was speaking of the computist in one passage and of his own contemporary, the grammarian, in the other.⁷³ It is now customary to disclaim for John of Garland all the works on computus ascribed to him and to assign them to Gerland without question. This is a very unscientific procedure especially in view of the fact that John of Garland was much interested in the computation of Easter and allied problems. It is certain that he has been credited with works which belong to Gerland but it is also altogether likely that John of Garland himself wrote a work or works dealing with computus.⁷⁴

The accretions to the other half of John of Garland, *alias* John the Grammarian, are still more troublesome. They resulted largely from the fact that until very recently nobody suspected that John of Garland had written the *Integumenta*, a commentary on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, which, as we have seen, was listed among the works of "John the Grammarian" by Bale. Apparently inspired by this humanistic touch, Pits made of him a very accomplished Latin and Greek scholar and attributed to him *Opuscula varia Graece*. Tanner questioned this attribution and said these works seem to belong to John the Grammarian (Johannes Philoponus), a Greek philosopher of Alexandria who lived about 600 A.D., as indeed they do.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ *Répertoire: Bio-bibliographie*, Paris, 1905, col. 2342.

⁷¹ See below under *Parisiana poetria*. ⁷² See note 6 above.

⁷³ *Bibliotheca*, 309. Tanner's reference to the *Opus minus*, which perplexed Kingsford in the *Dictionary of national biography*, is incorrect; the passage referring to John of Garland is in the *Compendium studii philosophiae*, as we have seen above, note 62.

⁷⁴ See below, p. 141. Le Clerc, *Histoire littéraire*, XXI (1847), 372, believed that the *Regule magistri Gerlandi de dialectica*, ascribed to Gerland the computist, may belong to John of Garland. This is possible, but not at all probable. Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," 119, thinks it is improbable.

M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, II, 116, note 2, cautions that John of Garland should not be confused with a Gerland or Garland, who flourished about 1148 and wrote a theological work called *Candela lucis* of which there is a fine copy in Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 18119, 181 fols.: *Jarlandi candela*, incipit: Omnibus in Christo. See below, p. 143, note 18.

⁷⁵ *Bibliotheca*, 434. Wright, *Biographia Britannica literaria: Anglo-Norman period*, 48.

Perhaps the most troublesome connection is that with Thomas Walleys (Guallensis, Wallensis, Walleys). It also resulted from the mystery evoked by the *Integumenta*. A commentary on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid was published in Paris in 1509–1515 under the name Thomas Walleys. Bibliographers at once jumped to the conclusion that this must be the *Integumenta* which Bale and Pits attributed to John the Grammarian (*alias* John of Garland). But the two have absolutely nothing in common. Thomas of Wales, the alleged author of the printed *Moralitates in Ovidium*, lived in the fourteenth century. He has nothing whatsoever to do with John of Garland, the author of the inedited *Integumenta*.⁷⁶

An instance of the possibility that some of the works of John of Garland may never have been attributed to their true author is the mention of Joannes Garlandius, medicus, by Oudin and Fabricius.⁷⁷ Fabricius thought Oudin was wrong when he identified him with John of Garland. The books which figure in this discussion are works on alchemy. We now know that John of Garland wrote at least one work on medicine. That may be the origin of the name Joannes Garlandius, medicus. Little, however, can be done with problems of this kind until we know more about the history of alchemy and of medicine in the later middle ages.⁷⁸

THE FAME OF JOHN OF GARLAND AND HIS PLACE IN THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

If John of Garland could have known the fate of his works he would have felt the full import of chapter XXVIII of the *Morale scolarium* in which he briefly portrays the nature of fickle fortune. It probably never occurred to him as a possibility that the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa-Dei, which he held in such contempt, would hold sway in western Europe for centuries and would figure prominently in modern histories of learning, while his own numerous works gathered the dust in obscure libraries and his name was mere flotsam in the backwaters of antiquarianism.

⁷⁶ For Thomas Walleys, see Bale, *Scriptorum . . . Catalogus*, Basle, 1559, 406, and for the details of the whole knotty problem which involves Johannes Guallensis see below, pp. 116–17.

⁷⁷ J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, III (Florence, 1858), 19.

⁷⁸ See below under *Memoriale*. In *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux*, I, Paris, 1864, 345, M. Douët d'Arcq identified John of Garland with a Jehan de Garlande, librère, who lived on the rue des Ecrivains in Paris in 1296 and paid 10s. *taille*. This is an interesting note but the identification is inadmissible.

In order to avoid any possibility of further confusion it may be noted that a Joannis de Yerlandia (Yrlandia or Yarlandia) is mentioned frequently in the proctor's book of the English nation in Paris in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Thus in October of 1469 "congregata fuit preclara artium Facultas apud Sanctum Julianum Pauperem . . . eligit in rectorem providum et discretum virum magistrum Johannem de Yrlandia in artibus magistrum et theologia bacalarium oriundum de civitate Sancti Andrie in Scotia," *Liber procuratorum nationis anglicanae (alemaniae)*, in Archives de l'université de Paris, Registres, 7 (9), fol. 58v. He is mentioned as Johannes Irlandus, by Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 435.

We have enough scattered evidence to show that he was not utterly forgotten in any century since the thirteenth. The glossed copies of many of his works bear witness that they were used in the schools. During his lifetime Richard de Fournival included the *Compendium grammaticæ*, the *Dictionarius*, and several minor works in the catalogue of the interesting library which he assembled about the middle of the thirteenth century.⁷⁹ In the second half of the thirteenth century Konrad de Mure, a teacher in Zürich, mentioned John of Garland with approval at the end of his *Summa de arte prosandi* and Hugo of Trimberg recommended the *Parisiana poetria* and *Synonyma* in his *Registrum multorum auctorum*.⁸⁰ Jean de Vignai, who wrote about 1298, cited the following works of John of Garland: *Facetus*, *Johannes de Garlandia in Doctrinale*, *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*), *Compendium grammaticæ*, and *Clavis compendii*.⁸¹ The author of the *Promptorium parvulorum* (ca. 1440 A.D.) drew largely on the following: *Dictionarius*, *Commentarius*, *De mysteriis ecclesie*, *Merarius*, and *Distigium*.⁸² The vogue of the *Morale scolarium* in the fifteenth century is attested by the collection of extracts from it found in Paris, Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1544, fols. 100–102, which we have designated P in our list of manuscripts.

John of Garland suffered cruel blows at the hands of the humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who should have divined that, with all his faults, he was their forerunner in the thirteenth century. They probably would have judged him more fairly if they had known all his works and not merely a few of his insignificant and fantastic wordbooks. Thus we have seen that in 1557 Bale, who knew the *Integumenta*, unwittingly praised him for his erudition and ranked him as a famous rhetorician and poet in the thirteenth century, which he depicted as an age of most corrupt blindness, when the arts had degenerated from all purity of diction. Drowning the timid voice of Johannes Butzbach (d. 1526) who, on the basis of an exceedingly slim knowledge of the genuine works of John of Garland, had a good word to say for him,⁸³ a whole chorus of humanists, including

⁷⁹ L. Delisle, "La Biblionomie de Richard de Fournival—Milieu du XIII^e siècle," in *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, II (1874), 524 (9, 10). A. Birkenmajer, *Biblioteka Ryszarda de Fournival*, Cracow Academy, 1922, 44.

⁸⁰ Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," in *Mitteilungen*, XIX (1909), 123.

⁸¹ B. Hauréau, "Jean de Vignai, grammarien, professeur à Dijon," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXX (1888), 285–87. The references are from the *Margarita philosophiarum*.

⁸² Albert Way (ed.), *Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum*, 3 vols., London, 1843, 1853, 1865 (Camden Society, 25, 54, 89), III, pp. xxvi–xxxii. See also Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 305, under Galfridus Grammaticus, and J. E. B. Mayor, "Latin-English and English-Latin lexicography," *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, IV (1857), 7.

⁸³ "Ioannes de Garlandia homo in secularibus litteris sufficienter instructus et divinarum scripturarum non ignarus grammaticus suo tempore haud inutilis. Scripsit quidem non abijcende lectionis sintagmata quibus memoriam sui apud posteros reliquit. E quibus extant: *Verba deponentalia*, lib. i, 'Vescor cum potior'; *Composita verborum*, lib. i, 'A sipo composita'; Carmina quedam proverbialia, et quedam alia." From MS Auctario serr. eccl. fol. 57^b, quoted by E. Böcking, *Ulrichi Hutteni operum supplementum*, II, Leipzig, 1869, 376.

Erasmus, condemned him utterly,⁸⁴ and Crotus Rubianus made fun of him in the *Letters of obscure men*.⁸⁵ In 1521 king Christian II of Denmark decreed that the books of Alexander de Villa-Dei, together with the *Grecismus*, the *Labyrinthus*, Brito, Johannes de Garlandia, and others, should be delivered to the schoolboard and burned.⁸⁶ When we remember how bitterly John of Garland himself inveighed against the *Doctrinale* and the *Grecismus* we are struck by the astounding ignorance concerning the thirteenth century on the part of the humanists who, without the slightest discrimination, so frequently condemned him along with those books which he despised.

The ignorance about John of Garland of Crotus Rubianus, which turns the sharp point of one of his shafts of wit back upon himself, should make us hesitate to gauge the intellectual caliber of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries through the eyes of the humanists. For the present, however, let us measure John of Garland with the rods of humanism to see whether he deserves nothing but unmitigated scorn.

In the prologue found in the Oxford manuscript of his *Epithalamium* John of Garland shows how westward the course of wisdom has had its way from Jerusalem to Athens, from Athens to Rome, and from Rome to Paris.⁸⁷ It is not presump-

⁸⁴ Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX (1909), 121. Trite as it is, the following quotation from Erasmus belongs in this place: "Deum immortalem! Quale saeculum erat hoc, cum magno apparatu *Disticha* Joannis Garlandini adolescentibus operosis et prolixis commentariis enarrabantur!" in *Declamatio de pueris ad virtutem ac literas liberaliter instituendis idque protinus a nativitate*, Leyden, 1529. Hauréau, *Notice*, 51, thought that Erasmus may have alluded to the *Compendium grammaticae* of John of Garland in the *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei*, in *Oeuvres*, I, col. 892.

⁸⁵ "Et isti humanistae nunc vexant me cum suo novo latino, et annihilant illos veteres libros, Alexandrum, Remigium, Iohannem de Garlandia, Cornutum, Composita verborum, Epistolare magistri Pauli Nivis, et dicunt ita magna mendacia quod ego facio crucem pro me quando audio. Sicut nuper unus dixit, quod est in quadam provincia una aqua, quae habet arenam auream et vocatur Tagus; et ego fistulavi occulte, quia non est possibile," in *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, I, 7, Magister Petrus Hafenmusius Magistro Ortvinio Gratio, *Epistolae obscurorum virorum: the Latin text with an English rendering, notes, and an historical introduction*, by Francis Griffin Stokes, London, 1909, 22-23. In this instance Crotus Rubianus chose an exceedingly unfortunate example to exhibit his superiority in classical learning over John of Garland and poor Petrus Hafenmusius. If the latter had really known the works of John of Garland he might have pointed triumphantly to line 158 of the *Morale scolarium* and to many another line to match the classical learning of John of Garland with that of the authors of the *Letters of obscure men*.

⁸⁶ Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, p. civ.

⁸⁷ PROLOGUS SUPER EPITHALAMICUM, LIBER VIRGINIS MARIE.
DE RECITATIONE LIBRI.

"Per orbis ambitum et per spatia terrarum sperica progreditur sapientia, firmamenti motum imitans, ab orientali regione transfinis Zephiri peregrinans. De cuius origine Boetius in suis interrogative proclamat querimoniis: O philosophia, in has exilii nostri solitudines omnium magistra virtutum supero cardine delapsa venisti? [Boeth. *cons.* 1. 3, 3-7]. Venit quidem per huius mundi desertum peregrinans, sedit quasi sol quadriga sui cursus quattuor mundi partes successivis motibus illustrando, sicut legitur in Ecclesiaste: Oritur sol, et occidit, et ad locum suum revertitur; ibique renascens, girat per Meridiem, et flectitur ad Aquilonem: lustrans universa in circuitu pergit

tuous, he says, to think that the great University of Paris may now become the home of the muses, and, lest it be thought that the ancient bards had a monopoly of the gift of poetry, it is but proper that someone in Paris should attempt some lofty song. Since his *Epithalamium*, upon which he centered such fond hopes, has never been published, we cannot judge of its success or failure. But let us suppose that it is found to be confused and bizarre, and lacking all the earmarks of a true work of art as does the *De triumphis ecclesie*, shall we then have no word of commendation for this old spinner of rhymes? Although printed long ago, the *Africa* of Petrarch is not known today much better than the *Epithalamium*. Yet, in spite of Petrarch's failure in epic poetry, we honor him highly as a humanist. Should we not give John of Garland his meed of praise for this vision of Paris as the Athens of the modern world and for his honest, though perhaps unsuccessful attempt, to begin to realize this dream?

spiritus, et in circulos suos revertitur [*Vulg. eccles.* 1, 5-6]. Has quidem et alias secutus auctoritates philosophie motum expediā circularem. Sumpsit autem philosophica speculatio initium in sanctis viris sed ipsis celitus inspirata, quia legitur Habraham astronomiam in Egipti finibus demonstrasse, Socrates in veri dei cognitionem studio penetrasse, Plato volumina Moysy sagaciter evoluisse. Quod igitur Greci didicerunt ab Hebreorum affinitate, diversis terrarum doctrina mediante nationibus emanavit. Post hec a Grecorum pectoribus Romanorum dominio fuerunt artes liberales in Latinum derivate. Sic itaque dicitur fons musarum Elicon, apud Grecos scaturiens, in Albanos montes se fudisse, sicut peribet Oracius dicens: Grecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio [*Hor. epist.* 2, 1, 156-57]. Virgilius vero maior eo vates, et ei contemperaneus certius peribet testimonium in quadrifario volumine agriculture: primus ego in patriam meam modo vita supersit, Aonio residens deducam vertice Musas [*Verg. georg.* 3, 10-11]. Jam ita gradatim transalpinavit in Galliam philosophica Parisius. Ibique velut fons emergens vivis purissimis totum irrigat occidentem testimonio Juvenalis: Gallia causicos docuit facunda Britannos [*Juv.* 15, 111]. Et idem alibi de conducendo loquitur [*Juv.* 15, 112]. Jam rethoretyle ab hac itaque sententia non discrepat *Timeus* Platonis de universali spiritu dicens: Animam non in medietate eius locavit eandem que per omnem globum equaliter porigi iussit, quo tectis inferioribus partibus excitata quoque totius corporis ambitu anime circundarentur. [Plato, *Tim.* 34, B; and Cic., *Tim.*, 6]. Sic ergo sapientia fluxit a fonte divini pectoris in viros Ebreorum electos; unde sicut ipsi primitus proposuerunt quod scripserunt. Et inde Greci recitationes fecerunt copiosius theatrales. Et tertio Romani nobis carmina cenicis recitationibus ediderent. Sic concedit ratio modernis carmina Parisius, ubi viget universale studium, recitare. Reor autem in honorem universalis cleri hoc habundare si Parisius aliquod opus honestum et utile recitetur et corrigatur, ne veteres poete gaudeant se solos metricæ scribendi peritiam habuisse. Quapropter divine perfectioni sapientie vestre quoddam opusculum presento, considerans quod dicit Seneca de sapiente: Sapiens autem vicinus proximusque deo consistit, excepta mortalitate similis deo, ad summa nitens et pergens excelsa [*Sen. Dial.* 2, 8, 2]. Hanc igitur perfectionem hic querens, hic eam invenire spero, qua perfectum quod hactenus imperfectum tenui, qua dilucidetur quod latuit in tenebris occultatum. Quoniam ex fonte sapientie preceptio emanat, ut luceant opera nostra coram hominibus, opusculum meum versifice compositum in honore sponsi et sponse, Christi et Beate Virginis, discretionis vestre proposui publicare. Posset enim oriri mali suspicio si liber vitaret publicum et odio lucem haberet; quod videlicet aut illatitaret hereseos venenum aut pro facie cenolenta se referre populo non auderet. Unde nullius principis terreni patrociniū aut munera levis adulationis aura blandienti studeo venari, sed discretorum virorum iudicium expostulo, qui librum, vel integrum, vel per quaternos divisum inspiciant; inspectum judicent; iudicatum a tenebris emittant, ad Beate Virginis laudem metrico pede per studia cursitare."—Oxford, Bodl. MS Digby 65, fol. 102.

The following extract from the preface on fol. 101v. is noteworthy: "Auctor nomen suum tacuit, dicens: Nomen celo meum quia non a nomine labor, si sponsa placeat virginis iste labor. Auctor est hystoriographus . . . Hoc nomen *Epithalamicum* sive *Epithalamium*."

Like Petrarch, John of Garland was much concerned with the ancient Latin classics but in a very different manner. In the fourteenth century the former felt that he was resurrecting them whereas in the thirteenth century the latter was trying to save them from shipwreck and utter destruction. John of Garland was trying to stem the tide of new learning which was overwhelming the study of Latin language and literature. In the next century Petrarch made of the Latin classics themselves a new learning which was destined to supersede that which was new in the time of John of Garland. The hopeless struggle and ultimate defeat of all champions of the ancient classics in the thirteenth century is best studied in connection with Henri d'Andeli's *Battle of the seven arts*.⁸⁸ As on the field of mortal combat or even on the gridiron of modern sport, Petrarch the victor has been lauded to the skies whereas John of Garland, who fought in a similar battle a century before, but who lost, has scarcely escaped oblivion.

It is the business of historians to chronicle faithfully all human effort, not excepting unpopular causes. On the basis of his *Integumenta*, the interests of John of Garland in the ancient Latin classics should now be studied in detail. The text and the glosses of the *Morale scolarium* offer much matériel for such a study. All the other works of our author abound in quotations and allusions which indicate that he was not merely well read in the classics as a grammarian but that he admired classical diction and strove to imitate it. Like a dwarf in the footsteps of Hercules he would humbly follow Virgil, Cicero, Ovid, Statius, and Lucan, confident that his puny modern age, if perched on the shoulders of those giants, would have a wider vision of beauty and could more easily detect the snaky paths of the heretics. Like Dante, he regretfully consigned the ancient authors to the inferno, lamenting that his contemporaries, although destined for heaven, were lacking in art, with many barbarisms and unheard-of babbling on their lips.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ L. J. Paetow, *The battle of the seven arts, by Henri d'Andeli*, Berkeley, 1914. For John of Garland see especially pages 16-18.

To the quotations which mention Orleans as a home of the classical authors should be added the following:

"Sicut Parisius est divitibus paradisus,
Sic est pauperibus insatiata palus.
Deinde tibi fornax fuit Aurilianis, alumna
Auctorum, Musae fons, Heliconis apex."

Evrard l'Allemand, *Laborintus* [written about the middle of the thirteenth century], ll. 945-48, ed. Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1924, 369 (see also 101).

⁸⁹

"DE MALIS IGNORANTIAE.

Eloquiis video male fundamenta labare
Insciis, haereticas inchoat inde vias.
Verba poetarum laudo, sed destruo sectas
In quibus erroris semita curva latet.
Vecta giganteis humeris gens nana moderna
Perspicuis oculis ulteriora videt."

John of Garland took pride in his knowledge of Greek. Again and again he undertook to make fun of the *Grecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune as he does in line 359 of the *Morale scolarium*. We have seen that for his knowledge of Greek he found favor in the eyes of Roger Bacon who criticized unmercifully so many grammarians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and who ventured to write an elementary Greek grammar. It is noteworthy that the editors of Bacon's book do not range John of Garland with famous Englishmen of the thirteenth century who knew Greek.⁹⁰ It would be a very fruitful study to examine John of Garland's knowledge of Greek in connection with his repeated criticisms of the *Grecismus*. Such a study, however, must await the publication of his inedited works which include the most extended commentaries on the *Doctrinale* and the *Grecismus*. In reading the glosses which contain Greek etymologies care must be taken to determine their provenance, for in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such notes were often added by men who knew much less Greek than was current in the thirteenth century.⁹¹ It is interesting to note that the colophon of John of Garland's long epic poem, "Explicit liber de triumphis ecclesie," is written with Greek letters in the unique manuscript.

The wretched style of John of Garland has become a byword among modern critics. Wright, Le Clerc, and Hauréau took many an occasion to exhibit the crudity of his verse. Le Clerc wrote: "John may be regarded in turn as a theologian, a chronicler, an alchemist, especially as a grammarian, but certainly not as a poet."⁹² Recently Habel has taken him under his wing and has begged the scholarly world to withhold a final verdict until all the works of John of Garland have been published.⁹³ A first glance at the *Morale scolarium* makes one feel that

Illis debentur laudes, gratesque merentur,
Quos ignorantes destinet umbra stygis.
Tullius eloquio probus, et Maro maximus, artem
Eloquii dederant, quos imitamur in hoc.
Sunt bene credentes hodie, sed fallit in arte
Multos barbaries, garrulitasque nova."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae* (ed. Wright), p. 78, ll. 15-20, 29-34.

"Vates non culpo, fidei sed luce carebant,
Quorum sunt multis lucida scripta bonis.
Virgilii miranda viret sententia, Naso
Tanquam de nihilo carmina longa trahit.
Stattius in serie vernat, Lucanus adaugens
Mores historiis physica multa canit.
Hos sequor in metro tanquam vestigia nanus
Herculis, et forsitan ut terebinthus ebur."

—*Ibid.*, p. 125, ll. 13-20.

⁹⁰ *The Greek grammar of Roger Bacon and a fragment of his Hebrew grammar*, edited from the MSS with introduction and notes by Edmond Nolan and S. A. Hirsch, Cambridge, 1902.

⁹¹ Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX (1909), 125.

⁹² *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXII, 103.

⁹³ Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX (1909), 129.

additional evidence will only increase our conviction that the older critics were right. Nothing could be more bizarre, more disorganized, more tantalizing than this poem. Many passages would be utterly unintelligible without the glosses and even they still leave many lines exceedingly obscure. However, in the light of the expressed intention of the author, our wrath begins to cool and we begin to revise our first impression. Above all, John of Garland was a schoolmaster who sought to make his students learn more and better Latin than was so glibly used in the universities of his day. In spite of him and his kind the notion was to prevail that advanced work in Latin language and literature per se was superfluous in institutions of higher learning where Latin was the sole medium of intercommunication. Against this prevailing tendency he fought as frantically as Roger Bacon did against the main currents of learning in that day. Thus almost everything John of Garland wrote was pedagogical in nature. To be sure, in the *Morale scolarium* he wished to reform the morals of his students but he was even more anxious to reform their Latin. Thus at the very outset he begs his students to prize the work for the difficult and unusual words and constructions it contains which it would be selfish for him to keep to himself. In our world of dictionaries and encyclopedias it is difficult to imagine how hard instruction must have been without such tools. At every turn in his poems John of Garland stops to explain and illustrate points which we now find alphabetized in our multiform works of reference.

One of the chief concerns of our author was to teach versification, so popular in his day that practically all grammars and even some chronicles were in verse which was frequently rimed. As so often happens in the *Morale scolarium*, the thought and construction are fantastically contorted to meet the exigencies of such an artificial medium as is the Leonine hexameter. Throughout his works he breaks in upon his main theme to give examples of some literary fashions of the thirteenth century which most of us do not recognize, and thus we are confounded with what seem to us crazy digressions. Before we shall be able to understand John of Garland it will be necessary to have before us not merely his works, but also scientific studies of the literary conceits and predilections of his age and a fuller understanding of its pedagogical methods and aims.⁹⁴ Such knowledge may dispel the seeming paradox that John of Garland, who was almost a lone humanist in the University of Paris during the thirteenth century, himself could not write worthy Latin.

It is safe to say that John of Garland will never rank with renowned Latin poets, but even if we should not revise the traditional verdict on his style his works will nevertheless continue to be valued as important sources for the history of the thirteenth century. They are an almost unexplored mine of information on Latin and the teaching of Latin in the University of Paris. They will be exploited

⁹⁴ The study of Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1924, is a step in the right direction.

eagerly when we begin to realize fully how much the Virgin cult of the middle ages has had to do with the elevation of women in modern society. They contain historical and literary information which has by no means been fully appreciated. John of Garland had a distinct historical bent which is shown in his decided penchant for precise dates and the eager way in which he mastered the facts of the Albigenian heresy and the history of the crusades from Philip Augustus to St. Louis. It would not be surprising if we should find other historical works of this *hystoriographus*, as he is called repeatedly in the glosses. His humanism induced him to seek fame for himself, to sing the praises of famous men of his day, and to note with precision many precious details of daily life, like the table manners of the rich and the activities of tradesmen and artisans in Paris. His inquiring mind busied itself not only with language and literature but also with current politics, with natural science and medicine, with the reckoning of time and in all likelihood with music. He seems to have been a decidedly upright man who was an uplifting force in the epoch when France was making its reputation as the most civilized of all nations. A very devout Christian like his king and lord, Louis IX, he shared his love for the Franciscans, but also his hatred of heretics and of Jews.⁹⁵ Foe that he was of all the sins and follies of his day he was not a morose ascetic. Although not a successful poet he had a poetic soul which saw the beauty of stained glass and of carved stone in Notre Dame de Paris and the Sainte Chapelle which rose in his lifetime to transfigure the Paris in which he lived. Glimpses of this side of his character may be had in his *De mysteriis ecclesie* but we shall never really know this man until we have a scholarly edition of his *Epithalamium*.

If John of Garland had stuck to his theme and had not aimed at lessons in Latin lexicography, grammar, and versification, the *Morale scolarium* might have been our most valuable source of information for university student life in the middle ages. Even so it is much more precious than the *Manuale scolarium* which depicts the life of students in the University of Heidelberg about 1480,⁹⁶ or the pseudo-Boethius *De disciplina scolarium*, which is of somewhat uncertain provenance but probably slightly anterior to our poem.⁹⁷ The great value of the

⁹⁵ Although he was a keen grammarian, John of Garland never thought of criticizing the Vulgate of which he said, "Pagina divina non vult se subdere legi Gramatices, nec vult illius arte regi."—Thurot, in *Notices et extraits*, XXII, part 2, 526.

His hatred of Jews is exhibited in the *Epithalamium*, in the sections "De garulitate judeorum et invidia; De perfidia judeorum," Brit. Mus. Bibl. Cotton, MS Claudius A. x. fol. 62v.-63, which should be read in the light of the condemnation of the *Talmud* by bishop Guillaume d'Auvergne of Paris in 1240. See Noël Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, Paris, 1880, 118-37.

⁹⁶ *The manuale scolarium: an original account of life in the mediaeval university*, translated from the Latin by Robert Francis Seybolt, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1921. For a discussion of this and other similar manuals see Charles Homer Haskins, *The rise of universities*, New York, 1923, 92-102.

⁹⁷ The *De disciplina scolarium* is printed in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, LXIV (1860), 1223-38. See Jean Porcher, "Le *De disciplina scolarium*: traité du XIII^e siècle faussement attribué à Boèce," in *Positions des thèses de l'Ecole nationale des chartes*, Paris, 1921, 3 pp. M. Porcher is preparing a critical edition of this tract.

Morale scolarium of John of Garland lies in the fact that it comes directly from the University of Paris in its formative period, when arts students were still studying "in Garlandia" rather than in the Rue du Fouarre. Meager as are the specific details about the university the poem has an air of freshness and homeliness which always characterizes documents depicting the early stages of great institutions. When we look at their beginnings largely through the aureole of their subsequent glory we cannot imagine the humbleness of their first days. Although we have glimpses of opulent professors of law and medicine and even of foppish and dissolute students, our general impression of Parisian university life in the first half of the thirteenth century is a conviction that neither king nor pauper imagined that the humble and self-sacrificing life of scholars in Paris would one day constitute the chief glory of the capital of the realm.

It is tempting to a student of the history of the University of Paris to dwell on lines in the *Morale scolarium* which illustrate factors of university life, such as rectors, bachelors, and hazing, but we must not delay the reader who will prefer to find these things for himself in the text of the poem or in the paraphrase which precedes it. This paraphrase should not be overlooked entirely because it contains explanatory notes which it was thought wise not to intersperse among the glosses of the manuscripts.

2. THE WORKS OF JOHN OF GARLAND

Great as has been the confusion about the identity of John of Garland and the details of his life, the problems connected with his works are still greater. Where there is so much doubt it will be well to begin with his own statements about his books. The most important passage comes near the end of his *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) and under the following appropriate headings in the margin reads:¹

De libellis ab auctore compositis. Hic enumerat autor libros quos composuit.

“Pene puer, pueris ostendi nomina rerum²
 Artificumque³ suos mores in apta coegi.
 Est liber evolvens rithmos, dictamina, metra;⁴
 Hinc dictare scias et metris iungere rithmos.⁴
 Integumenta⁵ canit alius ne filosofantem⁶
 Fabula decipiat.⁷ Est quartus gesta revolvens
 Ecclesie, celebresque Deo sub rege triumphos.⁸
 Quantum grammaticæ statuunt compendia,⁹ quorum¹⁰
 Pars¹¹ est accentum¹² demonstrat cartula presens.¹³
 Urine signa, morbos, medicamina scripsi.¹⁴

¹ Bruges, MS 546, fol. 76v. The other MSS agree substantially with the Bruges version.

² *nomina rerum*. Gloss in *B*: quantum ad Dictionarium.

³ *Artificumque*. Gloss in *B*: in civitate et in rure.

⁴ *Est liber evolvens rithmos, dictamina, metra*. Glosses in *B*: Hoc dicit quantum ad Parisiana iubar. Quia in sua arte poetica docet modum rithmificandi, versificandi et dictandi. Gloss in Brit. Mus. 15 A. XXXI, fol. 72: Hoc dicit quantum ad Parisiana iubar.

⁵ *Integumenta*. Glosses in *B*: id est, allegoricas sententias super fabulas. Et est Integumentum; veritas sub specie fabule palliata. Glosses in Brit. Mus. 15 A. XXXI, fol. 72 and in Cambridge 385, fol. 139: spirituales intelligentias.

⁶ *philosofantem*. Glosses in *B*: aliquem inpurum; loquentem de filosofia.

⁷ *Fabula decipiat*. Gloss in *B*: Hic dicit quantum ad Integumenta.

⁸ *Est quartus gesta revolvens . . . triumphos*. Gloss in *B*: Hoc dicit quantum ad librum De triumphis ecclesie. Loquitur enim de omnibus bellis, a cruce perdita in tempore Saladini usque ad recuperationem in amissione Damiate.

⁹ *compendia*. Glosses in *B*: id est, . . . tractatus et utiles; principum et . . . The *Compendia* are doubtless the *Compendium grammaticæ* and the *Clavis compendii*.

¹⁰ *quorum*. Gloss in *B*: compendiorum.

¹¹ *Pars*. Gloss in *B*: scilicet compendii.

¹² *accentum*. Gloss in *B*: artem accentandi.

¹³ *quorum . . . presens*. Gloss in *B*: Hoc dicit quantum ad Compendium.

¹⁴ *Urine signa, morbos, medicamina scripsi*. Gloss in *B*: Ego Johannes. Quantum ad librum medicine, et vocatur Memoriale Johannis. Gloss in Brit. Mus. Add. 15, 832, fol. 27v.: scilicet in autu[?] salernitarium.

Carmina Virginee liber epythalamica¹⁵ palme
 Continet: hinc,¹⁶ lector, pete scemata,¹⁷ prelia, palmam,¹⁸
 Quod poterunt alii¹⁹ poterit tibi reddere solus.²⁰
 Hiis scriptis alia poteram conjungere multa;²¹
 Set veniam vitiis²² magis²³ est orare decorum.
 Non habet in nostris finem perfectio factis."

Here we have evidence from John of Garland himself that he wrote the following works: *Dictionarius*; *Parisiana*, or *Poetria de arte prosaica, metrica, et rhythmica*; *Integumenta*; *De triumphis ecclesie*; *Compendium grammaticæ*; *Clavis compendii*; *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*); *Memoriale*; *Epithalamium*.

In the *Morale scolarium*, l. 33, John of Garland says that he wrote: *Mirabilia*.

In the *De triumphis ecclesie* he seems to inform us that he recited the *Epithalamium* at least in part, while he was at the University of Toulouse, 1229-1232,²⁴ and states quite definitely that he there wrote the following: *Assertiones fidei*; *Gesta apostolica*; *Georgica spiritualia*.

The glosses on the above passage from the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) were written in the thirteenth century and are therefore next in order as trust-

¹⁵ *epythalamica*. Glosses in *B*: In libro qui intitulatur epythamicum carmen loquitur de deliciis sponsi et sponse, et dicitur ab epy, quod est de, et thalomon, quod est delicie, etc., quasi liber loquens de deliciis sponse et sponsi. Sponsalia carmina.

¹⁶ *hinc*. Glosses in *B*: ex carmine Epythalamica. Hoc dicit quantum ad Epitalamicum.

¹⁷ *scemata*. Gloss in *B*: id est, rethorices colores.

¹⁸ *palmam*. Gloss in *B*: id est, victoriam Christi et Marie.

¹⁹ *alii*. Gloss in *B*: libri.

²⁰ *solus*. Glosses in *B*: ille liber; carminis Epitalamici. Gloss in Brit. Mus. Add. 15, 832, fol. 28: Quasi dicit: hoc processit alios, quia cum deliberatione fuit compositus et magnis viris recitatur, ut apparet apud Sanctum Julianum Parisius ante altare beate Virginis Marie, quia ibi ligatur cathena ferrea ne possit furari, et jacet in armariolo quodam.

²¹ *Hiis scriptis alia poteram conjungere multa*. Glosses in *B*: Ut Commentarium, Stellam maris, Assertiones fidei, Morale scolarium, Georgica spiritualia. Ut ethici, satirici, ystoriografi. [The *Stella maris* is the *Miracula B. Marie Virginis*.] Gloss in Cambridge MS 385, fol. 139: alii etici, satiri, ystoriographi. Ut novum Dictionarium, Stellam Maris, Assertiones fidei, Morale scolarium.

²² *vitiis*. Gloss in *B*: id est, propter vitia librorum.

²³ *magis*. Gloss in *B*: quam jactitare de operibus meis.

²⁴ "Virgine de sacra sponsalia carmina legi,
 Legato Bituris quae recitata dedi."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae* (ed. Wright), p. 100, ll. 5-6.

[Bituris = Béziers.]

²⁵ "De spe, deque fide, suevi retinere libellum;
 Huic et apostolica gesta ligata tuli.
 Illis exposui quadam brevitate tenorem,
 De sancto fuerat pagina prima Petro."

—*Ibid.*, p. 101, ll. 17-20.

"Istis expositis mihi gesta Georgius offert,
 Quae legi verso margine scripta libri.
 Exemplis volui duos mollire, rudesque
 Informare, graves flectere voce mea."

—*Ibid.*, p. 103, ll. 29-32.

worthy evidence. They verify the *Assertiones fidei* and the *Georgia spiritualia*, mentioned by the author himself, and add the following new titles: *Miracula B. Marie Virginis* (*Stella Maris*); *Commentarius*; *Morale scolarium*; *Ethici, satirici, historiographi*.²⁶

A comparatively firm foundation is thus furnished us by the above list of books whose authenticity is supported by first-class evidence.²⁷ Since the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) is dated 1234 by all recent writers, it would seem that we could say with confidence that all of the eight books mentioned in it must have been written before that date. We shall see, however, that it was probably written 1246–49.²⁸ Although the book which John of Garland mentions first in his list, the *Dictionarius*, was probably the first of his works, and a gloss in MS Brit. Mus. Add. 15, 832, fol. 27v. states that they are in chronological order, we cannot assume that he listed them in order of publication. The *Epithalamium*, for example, was written before the *Parisiana*. Roughly, we may, for the present, arrange the above books in the following chronological order and then proceed to a systematic discussion of these and of the other works of John of Garland:

- Dictionarius* (before 1229, probably about 1220);
- Epithalamium* (begun 1229–1232);
- Assertiones fidei* (1229–1232);
- Gesta apostolica* (1229–1232);
- Georgica spiritualia* (1229–1232);
- Parisiana* (1232–1249, probably 1234);
- Integumenta* (before 1241, probably 1234);
- Compendium grammaticæ* (before 1249, probably 1234);
- Clavis compendii* (before 1249, probably 1234);
- Memoriale* (before 1249, probably 1234);
- Mirabilia* (about 1240);
- Morale scolarium* (1241);
- De triumphis ecclesie* (probably begun 1229–1232 and finished 1245–1252);
- De mysteriis ecclesie* (1245);
- Commentarius* (1246);
- Ars lectoria ecclesie* or *Accentarium* (1246–1249);
- Miracula B. Marie Virginis* or *Stella Maris* (1248–1249).

²⁶ *Historiographi* probably refers to an epitome of world history. See below under *Historie majores ab origine mundi*.

²⁷ Equally trustworthy evidence is furnished by the *Biblionomia* of Richard de Fournival, a contemporary of John of Garland, that he wrote the *Équivoca*, *Compendium grammaticæ*, *Dictionarius*, and *Distigium sive Cornutus*. For Richard de Fournival see above, p. 99.

²⁸ See below under *Ars lectoria ecclesie*.

LITERARY WORKS

*De triumphis ecclesie*²⁹

From the viewpoint of modern scholarship this is the most important and most interesting of the works of John of Garland. It is a comparatively long epic poem which celebrates the victory of the church in the crusading movement. That he looked upon the *Aeneid* of Vergil as his model is seen in the eleventh line:

Arma crucemque cano, qua dux superatur Averni,
Et qua succumbit vulgus inerme suum.

The events which figure most prominently in the poem extend from the third crusade through the first crusade of Louis IX of France. John of Garland inveighed against heretics as much as against the infidel and to such an extent that Hauréau remarked sarcastically that the only unity he found in this work was passion against the infidels and heretics, especially the latter. John of Garland's residence in Toulouse brought him very close to information about the Albigensian wars which are given much space in the poem and which make of it a supplementary source for the history of those religious wars in France.³⁰ We have seen its importance for the life of the author. Confused and bizarre as it is, the work deserves much more study on the part of literary critics and historians. Le Clerc made a long analysis from the handwritten copy which Wright prepared for him,³¹ and Gatien-Arnoult³² and Habel³³ have made briefer abstracts from the printed edition.³⁴

Apparently John of Garland was engaged for many years in writing the poem. Evidently he did not write the books in the order in which we now find them. The eighth book in the manuscript the author himself referred to as the ninth, which

²⁹ Printed edition: Johannis de Garlandia, *De triumphis ecclesiae libri octo: a Latin poem of the thirteenth century*, edited from the unique manuscript in the British Museum by Thomas Wright for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1856.

Manuscripts: London, British Museum, MS Cotton. Claudius A. x. fols. 67-113v. Paris, Bibl. nat. MS nouv. acq. lat. 1225, is nothing but a handwritten copy made from the unique MS by Wright for Le Clerc. Incipit, "Gaudia succumbunt lacrimis."

Hauréau, *Notice*, 70, deplored the fact that the edition of this poem is very defective due in large part to mistakes in the unique manuscript.

T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, London, 1748, 309, was the first scholar who cited and made use of the *De triumphis ecclesie*.

³⁰ Paul Meyer, *La chanson de la croisade contre les Albigeois commencée par Guillaume de Tudèle et continuée par un poète anonyme*, 2 vols., Paris, 1875-79, II, pp. xxi-xxiii. Scheler, "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VI (1865), 56, quotes a long passage from the *Compendium grammaticae (Ars versificatoria)* which has to do with the Albigensian wars.

³¹ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXII, 79-95, 117-37.

³² "Jean de Garlande," *Revue de Toulouse*, XXIII (1866), 132-6.

³³ "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX, 7-9.

³⁴ See also L. J. Paetow, "The crusading ardor of John of Garland," in *The crusades and other historical essays presented to Dana C. Munro by his former students*, New York, 1927, 207-22.

may indicate a gap.³⁵ Le Clerc was right when he thought that books IV, V, VI may have been composed in part in Toulouse (1229–1232). At least portions of book one must have been written before 1252 because it mentions queen mother Blanche, who died in that year, and the second book after 1248 because it tells of the relics deposited in the Ste. Chapelle at Paris, which was completed in 1248.³⁶ Since book one mentions pope Innocent IV (1243–1254),³⁷ and Louis IX in Cyprus and Egypt, it is safe to say that the first two books were written 1248 and 1252. The seventh book was written after the capture and the loss of Damietta in Egypt in 1249.³⁸ In the eighth book he clearly tells us that he was at work on this poem in 1245 when the pope came to the Council of Lyons and when Guillaume d'Auvergne was bishop in Paris (1228–1248) and Petrus Parvus was chancellor there (1244–1246).³⁹ Toward the end of the eighth book facts are stated about Louis IX in the east and preparations made to assist him, which enabled Wright to determine that the poem was completed in the spring of 1252.⁴⁰

*De mysteriis ecclesie*⁴¹

This poem is about as long as the *Morale scolarium*. It was probably John of Garland's most popular literary work during the middle ages. In his cryptic style the author developed the symbolism of the component parts of a cathedral and of the Christian cult. The following verses (ll. 60–61) are almost identical with ll. 549–50 of the *Morale scolarium*:

Templi sculpturas morum dic esse figuras,
Vivas picturas animarum non perituras.

³⁵

"Est liber hic nonus qui cum pereuntibus octo
Ecclesiae laudes, bella, trophaea, canit."

—*De triumphis ecclesiae*, p. 125, ll. 3–4.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13, ll. 1–4; p. 22, l. 9.

³⁷

"Gregorii quartus In papa -nocentius haeres."

—*Ibid.*, p. 10, l. 9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³⁹

"Lugdunum venit quo sanctus tempore papa,
Hoc mea Parisius musa trahebat opus.
Mille ducentenis conjungo decem quater annos,
Virginis a partu, tresque duosque ligo.

Praesul Guillelmus et cancellarius urbis
Petrus Parisius dogmata sacra ferunt."

—*Ibid.*, p. 127, ll. 11–14, 21–22.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, introduction, ix. See also Le Clerc, *Histoire littéraire*, XXII, 95.

⁴¹ Printed edition. "Johannes de Garlandia de mysteriis ecclesiae," ed. Frid. Guil. Otto in *Commentarii critici in codices Bibliothecae Academiae Gissensis*, Gissae, 1842, 131–51; see also the introduction, pp. 86–87, where the editor says that John of Garland was not the author. Otto published the work from two manuscripts in Giessen and Darmstadt. His work is defective and should be done over in the light of better manuscripts together with their glosses, as Scheler and others have indicated. Leyser, *Historia poetarum*, 1721, printed the first lines, pp. 339 ff.; and

Critics have judged it harshly and have made merry over the early verdict of Otto who called it a "Carmen pulcherrimum et ad theologiam medii aevi cognoscendam utilissimum." Le Clerc and Hauréau pointed out that John borrowed freely from other sources.

The poem begins with a dedication to Fulk Bassett, bishop of London, 1244–1259.⁴² There is also a reference to Petrus Parvus, a chancellor of the church of Paris, which enabled Hauréau to fix 1244–1245 or 1246 as the incumbency of this chancellor who had been overlooked in previous lists of chancellors.⁴³ The glosses in many of the manuscripts of this poem enlarge on the fact that it was read to chancellor Peter and not circulated until he had corrected and approved it.⁴⁴ The poem is definitely dated 1245 by the author in a soulful epilogue which is an

Sbaraglia, *Supplementum . . . ad Wadding*, Rome, 1806, 20 ff., printed the last lines.

Other manuscripts:

Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 2411 [Y. l. in-4^o. 5], fol. 70–81. Incomplete.

Abbaye Moutier-en-Argonne.

Bruges, MS 546, fol. 43r–52v.

London, Brit. Mus. MS Cotton. Claudius A. viii, fols. 204v–209v.

Oxford, Bodl. MS Auct. F. 5. 6 (2195) fol. 150–58.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 385, pp. 163–85.

Lincoln Cathedral, MS 132 (C. 5. 8.), fols. 66–76v.

Worcester Cathedral, MS Q^o 80 [lost].

Florence, S. Crucis Laurent. Plut. XXV, cod. V, p. 12f. Used by Sbaraglia and seen by Haskins.

Leyden, MS nouv. fonds. 360, fols. 64–75v.

Vienna, MS 380, fol. 289–302.

Berlin, MS lat. in 4^o, no. 2.

Munich, MSS 3812, 4371, 4710.

Metz, MS 345.

Wolfenbüttel, MS 267. Gud. Lat. 4^o, fols. 25–36. Used by Leyser.

University of Prague Library, V. H. 1, fols. 197^a–240^b (15th cent).

⁴² "Anglia quo fulget, quo gaudent presule claro
Londonia, quo Parisius scrutante sophiam
Florebat studium; basis aurea, fulgide Fulco,
Firme justitie, mysteria suscipe sacre
Ecclesie, studio distincta metroque Johannis,
Tutius ut veniant in apertum iudice tanto
Mystica. Parisius licet hec recitata probentur,
Exposcunt subtile tuum, pie pastor, acumen,
Qui sacer instituis sacros ad sacra ministros."

Compare *Morale scolarium*, ll. 89–90.

⁴³ "Ecce, vir electus, tamquam campana sonora,
Ecclesie secreta sacre committo magistro
Discutienda Petro, qui cancellarius urbis
Parisius studii directas ducit habenas,
Ad limam cujus resonant hec tinnula metra."

—*De mysteriis ecclesiae* (ed. Otto), ll. 44–48.

⁴⁴ H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1885, 676, note 76, called attention to the gloss in Bibl. Ste. Geneviève, MS 2411, fol. 70v. which reads: "Hic facit autor degressio ad magistrum Petrum parvum qui fuit cancellarius Parisius, cui resitatus fuit iste liber et sub cuius coreptione credebatur iste liber et postea ipsum ostendit et postea ratione ostentionis ostendit."

obituary for the Englishman Alexander of Hales, the irrefragable doctor, who died in Paris on August 21 of that year.⁴⁵

In some of the manuscripts there are many interlinear glosses and long marginal notes. Rivet said that the author added a commentary which is found in a separate form in the manuscripts.⁴⁶

*Epithalamium B. Marie Virginis*⁴⁷

This long poem of about 6000 lines has never been edited nor has any one ever examined or appraised it. Habel printed twenty-four lines from transcripts made for him in Oxford and London. We have already studied the important prologue of the Oxford manuscript (see above, p. 100). It seems to be a mystical treatise which will be of great value to students of the medieval Virgin cult, of which John of Garland was a most ardent exponent as is shown in almost all his writings.

There is general agreement that the *Epithalamium* was probably written by John of Garland while he was in Toulouse, 1229–1232, for he read it to a cardinal legate whom Hauréau identified as Romain Bonaventura, who preached at that time in the cities of Languedoc.⁴⁸

The question of place and date of final publication should, however, be left an open question. The prologue of the Oxford manuscript points to Paris. It would not be surprising if further study should reveal that the *Epithalamium* as we have it was not issued until it had been read by several professors in Paris and approved by one of the chancellors of the university.

⁴⁵

"Hoc opus exiguum ludendo tempore feci
Exiguo, quod Parisius pretore relatum
Conscripsere manus, studium quo tempore mortem
Flevit Allexandri studiosi carmine tali:"

—*De mysteriis ecclesiae* (ed. Otto), ll. 634–37.

This obituary is found isolated in Bibliothèque universitaire de Strassburg, MS 47 (Latin 45), fol. 166. Joseph A. Endres, *Des Alexander von Hales Leben und psychologische Lehre*, Fulda, 1888, extracted it from one of the Munich MSS and believed that it had never been utilized before.

⁴⁶ *Histoire littéraire*, VIII, 86. See also Hauréau, *Notice*, 7, where he warns us that it is difficult to determine the authorship of glosses.

⁴⁷ *Epithalamium*. Incipit: Aulam sacre virginis cano triumphalem. Manuscripts:

London, Brit. Mus. MS Cotton. Claudius A. x. fols. 1–66.

Oxford, Bodl. MS Digby 65, fols. 101v–164v.

Library of Kersall Cell (Lancashire) MS 4, now in Chetham's Library, Manchester: —"Jo. de Garlandia Angli Epithalamium B. Marie Virginis." The same MS contains works of Geoffrey of Vinsauf.

P. Leyser, *Historia poetarum*, says this about the Cotton Claudius A. x. MS (which also contains the unique copy of the *De triumphis ecclesie*), "per Joannem de Garlandia manuscriptum," and refers to Thomas Smith, *Catalogus*, Oxford, 1696, 39. This seems to be a claim that we have here an autograph copy of a work of John of Garland.

⁴⁸ See note 24 above. T. Wright, *Essays on literature*, I (1846), 217, had pointed out that the *Epithalamium* was composed in Toulouse.

All our information about this work indicates that John of Garland considered it his masterpiece. That others shared his own admiration for it is quite clear from the interesting note that a copy of the book was chained to the altar of the Virgin Mary in the church of St. Julien le Pauvre in Paris where university meetings were held very frequently in this period.⁴⁹

The *Epithalamium* is a strange medley in which the author seems to have inserted every thought he ever had. When published the poem will throw much new light on all his other works and on his mentality in general. See, for example, the notes on lines 163 and 267 in the paraphrase of the *Morale scolarium* below.

The following lines indicate that it may even have intrinsic value:

Dicam quid est amor. Amor est insania mentis,
 Ardor inextinctus, insatiata fames,
 Dulce malum, mala dulcedo, gratissimus error,
 Absque labore quies, absque quiete labor.
 Hoc est prodigium, cum luctu gaudia miscens,
 Exsequiale canit carmen oloris amor.

Brit. Mus. Bibl. Cotton.

MS Claudius A. x. fol. 55v.⁵⁰

In his *Poetria* John refers to the *Epithalamium* several times.⁵¹

Tanner found a curious note at the end of the Cottonian MS, which seems to make John of Garland a contemporary of John of Salisbury in Paris.⁵²

*Miracula B. Marie Virginis, or Stella Maris*⁵³

This inedited poem has received more attention than the preceding one. Although the two are very different in design they should be studied together to understand the roots of John of Garland's deep-seated veneration for the Virgin

⁴⁹ See note 20 above.

⁵⁰ P. Meyer, "Mélanges de poésie anglo-normande," in *Romania* IV (1875), 384, found the first four of these lines in the margin of Paris, Bibl. nat. MS 25566, fol. 209, which contains the *Conseil d'amours* attributed to Richard de Fournival. These verses are attributed there to John of Garland but Paul Meyer could not determine their source.

⁵¹ Mari, "Poetria," *Romanische Forschungen*, XIII (1902), 914, 916. For new material in the *Epithalamium* on table manners and on natural science, see pp. 159, 163 below. The poem is mentioned in *Ovide moralisé: poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle*, I, l. 3126, ed. C. de Boer, Amsterdam, 1915. See also L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, III, 80.

⁵² "Scriptum, ut manus nupera notat, a Joh. Garlandio. Ex fine patet autorem Parisiis studuisse tempore Thomae de Chabham, et Guil. Altissiodorensis et Joh. Sarisb. [In textu Thomae tantum est, qui interlineatus manu antiqua De Chabham habet: Sed quaere, annon potius intelligendum D. Thomas, quia Tho. de Chabham floruit circa A. MCCCXX]." T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 309.

⁵³ *Miracula B. Marie Virginis*. Incipit: Fecit deus mirus mirum. Manuscripts:

Bruges, MS 546, fols. 84-88v.

London, Brit. Mus. MS S. Royal. 8. C. IV, fols. 16-23v.

Library of the late Sir Thomas Philipps in Cheltenham, MS 448 (no. 2).

Mary.⁵⁴ This poem touches on sixty-one of her miracles. Students of medieval Latin hymns cannot afford to ignore it.

That the work was also known as the *Stella maris* is attested not only by the gloss in the *Ars lectoria ecclesie*⁵⁵ but also by the table of contents of the British Museum manuscript which reads, "Liber metricus Iohannis de Garlandia qui vocatur Stella maris de miraculis beate Marie virginis."

The Bruges manuscript has an interesting note at the bottom of the first page, which informs us that the work was based on prose legends of the Virgin which John of Garland found in a book in the library of Ste. Geneviève of Paris and which he versified for the use of his students in Paris. Hauréau states that this is our earliest reference to the library of the abbey of Ste. Geneviève and that it seems to indicate that the library was public, since John of Garland was not one of the regular canons.⁵⁶

Ward made a fine analysis of these miracles of the Virgin Mary from the British Museum manuscript. He determined that the work was written, or at least finished, between February, 1248, and March 30, 1249. This limit he deduced from the following internal evidence. Guillaume d'Auvergne is addressed as bishop of Paris. He was bishop from 1228 to March 30, 1249. Gautier de Château-Thierry is addressed as chancellor of Paris, which office he held from 1246 (Ward has 1244) to 1249, when he became bishop following Guillaume d'Auvergne. A battle near Parma is mentioned which is probably that fought in February, 1248.⁵⁷

Line 33 of the *Morale scolarium* reads:

Edita sunt annis in paucis *Mira* Johannis,

A gloss explains: *Mirabilia*. We have no other references to such a work of John of Garland. It is possible that *Mirabilia* is the *Miracula B. Marie Virginis*, for John of Garland calls it *Mira* in the body of the work (see below, p. 167). But since the author says that the *Mirabilia* was published a few years before the *Morale scolarium*, which was written in 1241, it is more likely that the *Mirabilia* represents a hitherto unknown work of John of Garland. What the subject of this lost work may be can only be vaguely guessed at from the desperately obscure lines 33 to 38 of the *Morale scolarium*.

⁵⁴ A. Mussafia, "Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden," *Sitzungsberichte der k. k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, Vienna, 113 (1886), 917-994; 115 (1888), 5-92; 118 (1889), 66 pp.; 123 (1891), 85 pp., has used this work; see especially vol. 118 (1889), 6-7.

⁵⁵ See note 21 above.

⁵⁶ Hauréau, *Notice*, 8. Perhaps he enjoyed this privilege because he lived in the parish of Ste. Geneviève as we have seen above.

⁵⁷ H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of romances in the department of manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, London, 1893, 699. Habel, *Johannes de Garlandia*, 29, quotes the first two stanzas of the work as given by Scheler, "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VI (1865), 55. He also noted the Parma episode. P. J. Laude, *Catalogue des MSS de la bibliothèque publique de Bruges*, Bruges, 1859, 484, printed some of the titles of the legends. He found the commentaries on folio 88 of the Bruges MS very curious.

Integumenta super Ovidii Metamorphosin

In 1748 Tanner, following Bale and Pits, had stated on manuscript evidence that John the Grammarian wrote a commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* consisting of two parts: first, some introductory verses to each book; second, a prose exposition of Ovid's mythology.⁵⁸ T. Warton repeated this tradition.⁵⁹ Both observed that the manuscripts in England ascribe this work either to a Johannes Anglicus or a Johannes Gualensis. Warton then injected a puzzling error by declaring that the same work is extant under the name of the latter, printed in Paris, 1599, under the title *Expositiones sive moralitates in lib. I Metamorphoseos sive Fabularum, etc.* In his article on "John Garland" in the *Dictionary of national biography* C. L. Kingsford copied the error of Warton but said the book was printed in Paris, 1569. Edwin Habel observed that Kingsford probably meant to write Thomas Waleis, not John Walleys.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Bibliotheca*, 434.

⁵⁹ *History of English poetry*, I (1824), dissertation II, p. cxlix.

⁶⁰ "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX (1909), 120. I have not been able to find a 1569 or 1599 edition of this work as stated by Kingsford and Warton respectively. The two following editions exist in Paris:

1. Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter a Magistro Thoma Walleys Anglico de professione predicatorum sub sanctissimo patre Dominico: explanata. Venundantur in aedibus Ascensianis Ioannis Parvi: et sub pellicano in vico sancti Iacobi Parrhisii.

Finunt moralitates librorum Metamorphoseos quidum edite a magistro Thoma Walleys anglico de ordine fratrum predicatorum. Deo gratias. Impressum est autem hoc opus in edibus Ascensianis anno domini M. D. xi. ad nonas apriles [in Library of the Sorbonne, R XVI, 735].

2. Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter a magistro Thoma Waleys Anglico de professione predicatorum sub sanctissimo patre dominico: explanata. Venundantur in edibus Francisci Reynault: in vico sancti Iacobi sub intersignio sancti Claudii commorantis.

[Here follows a Tabula alphabetica, dated 1509.]

Incipiunt moralitates Ovidii Metamorphoseos etiam de formis figuris et imaginibus deorum que variis modis videlicet litteraliter, moraliter, historialiter, necnon spiritualiter exponuntur; edite a magistro Thoma Waleya anglico, sacre pagine doctore de ordine predicatorum.

Finuntur moralitates librorum Metamorphoseos Ovidii edite a magistro Thoma Walleys anglico de ordine fratrum predicatorum. Deo gratias. Impressum est autem hoc opus in edibus Francisci Reynault. Anno domini milesimo quingentesimo decimo quinto, die vero xxiii mensis Martii [Paris, Bibl. nat., Rés pYc. 707, Y, 1165].

In the inside cover of this copy is written: "de Thoma Walleys alias Gual . . . , vid: Balaeum, centur. 5^a operis sui de Scriptoribus Britanniae. Hunc porra Thomam Anglicam vocat Leander Bononiensis. Claruit 1332."

Bale ascribes this work to an English Dominican of that name who flourished 1332.

B. Hauréau, "Mémoire sur un commentaire des Métamorphoses d'Ovide," *Memoires de l'Institut nationale de France, Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Paris, XXX (1883), 45-55, presents strong arguments to prove that the work was written by Pierre Bersuire in 1342. This ascription was accepted by Gaston Paris, "Chrétien Legouais et autres traducteurs ou imitateurs d'Ovide," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIX (1885), 455-525; see also p. 506.

In the *Letters of obscure men*, I, 28, *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, ed. F. G. Stokes, 72, much fun is made of the Thomas Wallensis commentary on Ovid. The ridicule of the fourfold interpretation of the *Metamorphoses*, naturally, literally, historically, and spiritually, would apply as well to the *Integumenta* of John of Garland.

This seemingly hopeless tangle is easily unraveled by recently disclosed facts regarding John of Garland. In the first place we have seen that John the Grammarian is no other than John of Garland⁶¹ and that Johannes Anglicus is not an unusual name for our author. Secondly, he has himself told us in his *Ars lectoria ecclesie* that he wrote a commentary on Ovid called *Integumenta*,⁶² a fact which was first heralded by E. Habel, who received essential information from J. P. Gilson of London and E. O. Winstead in Oxford.⁶³ In the third place, the fourteenth-century commentary on Ovid, printed in Paris in 1511 and 1515 under the name Thomas Walleys, has absolutely nothing to do with the work of John of Garland, which is inedited.⁶⁴

Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 540, states that Alexander Neckam wrote a commentary *In Metamorphosin Ovidii*. This led Esposito to study the commentary on Ovid by Thomas Walleys printed in Paris in 1511 and 1515 and to list a large number of MSS of this work of the fourteenth century.⁶⁵ It is more likely that the work mentioned by Tanner is the unpublished commentary of John of Garland falsely attributed to Alexander Neckam. Gaston Paris examined the Paris manuscript of the *Integumenta* of John of Garland but added no new light because he reached the curious conclusion that John Scotus Eriugena may have been the author.⁶⁶

From a careful study of many manuscripts, Faral, before he observed the citation of the *Integumenta* in the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) seen by Habel, came to the conclusion that John of Garland had written the *Integumenta*.⁶⁷ He showed how the name of Johannes Guallensis became involved in this matter by a curious error in reading the titles of a manuscript in the Peterhouse Library in Cambridge. He determined independently that the printed commentary of Thomas Walleys has nothing to do with John of Garland's work and that Nicolas Trivet wrote a commentary on Ovid which must be placed to one side since it does not enter into our problem. Finally he held that the *Integumenta* of John of Garland is in verse, consisting of 249 distichs, and that a prose commentary, often

⁶¹ See above, p. 96.

⁶² See above, p. 107.

⁶³ "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX (1909), 120.

⁶⁴ A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan history*, Manchester and London, 1917, 186, confessed that Mr. Craster had pointed out to him that in his account, "In fabulis Ovidii," p. 149 of his *Grey Friars in Oxford*, he had confused two distinct works: 1. One beginning "A veritate quidam auditum," printed in Paris 1509, 1515, generally attributed to Nicholas Trivet; and 2, another beginning "Parvus majori paret," attributed to Johannes Anglicus and Johannes de Garlandia. Little adds that he thinks that neither is by a Johannes Guallensis mentioned by Leland.

⁶⁵ M. Esposito, "Notes on some unpublished poems attributed to Alexander Neckam," *English Historical Review*, XXX (1915), 469. His list of manuscripts should be scrutinized very carefully to make sure that he did not inadvertently include commentaries on Ovid the true authorship of which he did not know.

⁶⁶ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIX (1885), 504.

⁶⁷ E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, Paris, 1924, 42-46.

associated with the *Integumenta* in the manuscripts and ascribed by Tanner and others to the same author, was written by a certain Guillelmus de Thiegiis.⁶⁸

Until all the manuscripts have been examined and compared, the authorship of the prose commentary should be left an open question.

The *Integumenta* of John of Garland, in the Hatton manuscript, begins:

Parvus maiori paret veloxque viator
Quo jubeat dominus previus ire solet.
Sic mea proclivis famulatur harundo poetis
Et pede pentametro cursitat illa levis.
Morphosis Ovidii parva cum clave Johannis
Panditur et presens cartula servit ei.
Nodos secreta denodat, clausa revelat,
Rarificat nebulas, integumenta canit.⁶⁹

The *Integumenta* is quoted in the glosses on lines 221 and 603 in the Bruges manuscript of the *Morale scolarium*. These quotations illustrate the fanciful character of this curious commentary on Ovid.

The glosses in the *Morale scolarium* (1241 A.D.) make it very likely that the *Integumenta* was written before 1241.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ This prose commentary Faral found in Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 8010, fol. 1. It is a general introduction to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid which begins: "Ad majoris auctoris evidentiam," and a notice on each of the books of Ovid's work. That on book I begins: "Mutationes hujus libri sunt hec: Chaos . . ." Another manuscript of this prose commentary found separately is in Brit. Museum, Burney MS 2241 ff., 2b, 181b, as noted by Warner and Gilson, *British Museum. Catalogue of western manuscripts*, II, 53.

⁶⁹ Faral lists the following manuscripts of the *Integumenta* of John of Garland found with or without the prose commentary of Guillelmus de Thiegiis:

Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 8008, fol. 153.

Leyden, MS Voss. 46, fol. 7.

Oxford, Bodl., Digby 104, fols. 161-67.

Oxford, Bodl., Canon. lat. 9, fol. 152-167v.

Oxford, Bodl. Auct. F. 3, 10 (anc. F. 11, art. 86), fol. 161. This is an incorrect citation.

It should be Auct. F. 5, 16, fol. 161 ff., mentioned below.

To these should be added the following found by Habel and described in Warner and Gilson, *British Museum. Catalogue of western manuscripts*, II (1921), 53:

Brit. Mus. Royal MSS 12 E. XI (4), fol. 143b (15th cent.).

A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan history*, Manchester and London, 1917, 186, found the following; of which I inspected the first two:

Oxford, Bodl. Auct. F. 5, 16, pp. 161-202, "Incipit liber integumentorum fabularum a Johanne Anglico compositus."

Oxford, Bodl., Hatton, 92, fols. 70v.-100. Here ascribed to Johannis de Garlandia.

"Expliciunt integumenta ovidii metamorphoseos. i. ovidii in transformatis."

Reims, 741 (Haenel, p. 405).

The following are new manuscripts:

Oxford, Merton College, MS no. CCXCIX (11), fol. 280.

University of Prague Library, IX. C. 3, fols. 71^b-83^a (14-15th cent.).

It should be noted that Esposito, *English historical review*, XXX (1915), 469, included Oxford, Bodl. Auct. F. 5, 16, in his list of the manuscripts of the commentary of Thomas Walley printed in Paris.

⁷⁰ The *Integumenta* of John of Garland should be studied and published without delay. The manuscript in Merton College is described by H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1852, I, Codices MSS Collegii Mertoniensis, p. 119, no. CCXCIX (11): Seguardi Integumenta

Assertiones fidei
Georgica spiritualia
Gesta apostolica

Concerning these three works little can be added to the meager notices we have given above.⁷¹ Hauréau, *Notice*, 9, believed that Le Clerc was mistaken when he drew from the *De triumphis ecclesie* that John of Garland had written these books.⁷² We have seen, however, that the glosses of the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) support Le Clerc as against Hauréau. These books were written by John of Garland in Toulouse, 1229 to 1232. They have never been listed among his works by the older bibliographers and are known solely from the *De triumphis ecclesie* and the glosses of the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*).

Historie majores ab origine mundi

In his *De triumphis ecclesie* (ed. Wright, p. 128, ll. 11-14) John of Garland wrote:

Historias ego majores ab origine mundi
 Perstrinxi, superest laus sine fine crucis.
 Bellis finitis surgunt nova bella, nec illa
 Infinita queo tradere certa stilo.

It is possible that the author here refers to the general way in which he has touched upon world history in the *De triumphis ecclesie* itself but in view of the gloss in the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) which states that he wrote "ystoriografi"⁷³ it is much more likely that John of Garland wrote a compendium of world history which is not known at present. He also used the word "perstrinxi" at the beginning of the *Clavis compendii* when he spoke of his *Compendium grammaticæ*.⁷⁴

Mirabilia

All that is known about this work is stated above under *Miracula B. Marie Virginis*.

Morale scolarium.⁷⁵

Metamorphoseon, sive iterum argumenta, partim metrice partim prosaice expressa. fol. 280. Incipit, "Jupiter primus filius fuit etheris." Prope ad initium citantur versus Johannis de Garlandia et Macri de viribus herbarum. In calce, "Expliciunt Integumenta Ovidii Metamorphoseon." See E. K. Rand, *Ovid and his influence*, Boston, 1925, especially 112-43, and the bibliography, 182-84.

⁷¹ See above, p. 108.

⁷² Le Clerc, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXII, 91, listed four works, one on Saint Peter, but the *De triumphis ecclesie* clearly states that the treatise on St. Peter was merely the beginning of the *Acts of the Apostles*.

⁷³ See above, p. 108, note 21; also the reference to "hytoriographus" in the preface of the *Epithalamium* printed p. 101 above.

⁷⁴ Scheler, "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch* VI (1865), 46, prints:

"Artis grammaticæ dudum compendia quedam
 Protraxi."

But the Bruges manuscript 546, fol. 25, which he cites, clearly reads "perstrinxi" instead of "protraxi," as do other manuscripts.

⁷⁵ For a full description of the *Morale scolarium* see below, p. 146.

WORKS ON GRAMMAR AND RHETORIC

*Compendium grammaticæ*¹

No one except Scheler has ever studied this work with any care. He saw the Bruges manuscript, from which he printed the first eleven lines and several other extracts under the confusing title *Ars versificatoria*, which does not describe the contents of the work and which was arbitrarily added by a scribe.² Hauréau, *Notice*, 48, searched vainly in Paris for a manuscript of the work but made good use of the meager extracts given by Scheler. Habel did likewise, but it is now quite futile to continue the study of this work at long range. It should be edited with the same care which D. Reichling bestowed on the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa-Dei.³

The *Compendium grammaticæ* was John of Garland's chief grammatical work with which he hoped to displace the *Doctrinale* and the *Grecismus* which had been written at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Scheler called attention to a section devoted to this criticism beginning on fol. 123r of the Bruges manuscript as follows:

[V]isis Grecismi vitiis censura teatri
Doctrinale vocat, examinet ut sua dicta.⁴

The book is long, consisting of about 4000 hexameters. Whatever may be its intrinsic value as a work on grammar it is certain to be of the greatest importance for a study of medieval Latin. Together with its glosses, which are very numerous at the beginning of the Bruges manuscript, it will doubtless also throw much new light on scholars and scholarship in the thirteenth century as is clear from the extract printed by Scheler, which mentions Jean de Beauvais and which Hauréau used to such good advantage. Although it probably was never popular it was not

¹ *Compendium grammaticæ*. Incipit: Grammaticam trivialis apex. Kingsford, in the *Dictionary of national biography*, XX (1889), 438, said that it was printed, without place or date, at Deventer, 1489. He seems to refer to a book which Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, II, 195, lists as *Compendium totius grammaticæ*, Laurentio, Servio, Perotto diligenter collectum, without place or date, in 4^o. Goth. (62 ff.); reimpression: Daventriae, per Richardum Paffroed, 1489, quarto die Martii, in 4^o. Although Graesse, *Trésor*, II, 240, who also mentions this work, follows Brunet and says, "est probablement Joh. de Garlandia," Hauréau, *Notice*, 49, demonstrated that the book has absolutely nothing to do with the *Compendium grammaticæ* of John of Garland, which is inedited.

Manuscripts:

Bruges, MS 546, fol. 89r-145v (here entitled *Ars versificatoria* in the *explicit* which is inserted by another hand).

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 385, fols. 211-69. No glosses.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 593, fols. 54-105b. Many glosses.

² Scheler, "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch*, VI (1865), 55-57.

³ *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei*, Berlin, 1893 ("Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica," XII).

⁴ This is preceded by a long chapter in prose which begins with a discussion of the theater. In the *Morale scolarium* the *Doctrinale* and *Grecismus* are denounced in ll. 353 ff.

entirely unknown in the middle ages. Jean de Vignai (*ca.* 1298) mentioned it thus: "Unde, secundum Jo. de Gall. in Compendio suo: Qui dicit Pascha, post Paschatis, errat ab arte; Pascha quidem Paschae."⁵ Hauréau also discovered that it was listed by the father of bibliographers, Richard de Fournival,⁶ and he believed that Erasmus knew it and made it the butt of one of his attacks on medieval Latinity.

Hauréau thought that this work was written by John of Garland in his youth because, in referring to it in the *Clavis compendii*, John of Garland used the word *dudum*. All we can say with absolute assurance is that the *Compendium grammaticae* was written some time before the *Clavis compendii* and that both were finished before the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*), which was written in 1246–1249.⁷ These compendia probably were published in 1234, when, according to the passage quoted below from the *Ars lectoria*, several of his works appeared in Paris.

*Clavis compendii*⁸

This unpublished grammatical work is even less known than the *Compendium grammaticae* of which it is a key, as is clear from the first two lines:

Artis grammaticae dudum compendia quedam
Perstrinxi, quorum clavem tenet iste libellus.

It was impossible for John of Garland to be very brief and to the point, hence this abridgment of his abridgment of grammar comprises about 2250 lines of verse. Here also the author inveighs against the *Doctrinale* and the *Grecismus*. The *Clavis compendii* is also mentioned by Jean de Vignai at the end of the thirteenth century.⁹

Scheler, the only scholar who has ever perused the work, extracted an interesting digression from fol. 42r of the Bruges manuscript, which deals with medical lore.¹⁰

The date of the *Clavis compendii* is bound up with that of the *Compendium grammaticae*. The two works should be published together. They will be incomplete without the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*).

⁵ B. Hauréau, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXX (1888), 286.

⁶ L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, Paris, II (1874), 524.

⁷ See below under *Ars lectoria ecclesie*.

⁸ *Clavis compendii*.

Manuscripts:

Bruges, MS 546, fols. 25r–42v.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 136, fols. 163–227. Glosses.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 385, fols. 270–99. No glosses.

⁹ B. Hauréau, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXX, 287.

¹⁰ See below under *Memoriale*. A. De Poorter, in *Revue des bibliothèques* (1926), 122–25, has now listed the chapter headings of the *Clavis compendii*.

*Ars lectoria ecclesie (Accentarium)*¹¹

As seems to be indicated by the larger number of extant manuscripts this work was probably the most popular of John of Garland's grammatical texts. It comprises only about 1426 lines of verse. We have seen that the author himself says that the work supplements his two compendia,¹² a fact which is borne out by the introduction written by the glossator of the Bruges manuscript.¹³

In some respects these three works are prototypes of the *Opus majus*, *Opus minus*, and *Opus tertium* of Roger Bacon. In one work after another, and with very little system, John of Garland and Roger Bacon poured out their protests against the intellectual habits of the thirteenth century with which both were entirely out of tune. All the world now knows the chief grievances of Roger Bacon. It is just as important for us to know what displeased John of Garland. From a few extracts made by Scheler in 1865 we had learned how John of Garland deplored the decline of interest in Latin language and literature, how he defended the ancient Latin classics which were losing ground in Paris, how he looked to Orleans for a revival of interest in the ancient authors. This work is also full of denunciations of the weakness of the *Doctrinale* and the *Grecismus*, offers more wholesome grammatical instruction, and pleads for greater interest in the niceties of Latin usage, especially in quantity and pronunciation which depends on accent. The general purpose of the work is very well expressed in the last two lines:

Scribe per hanc recte, lege recte, construe recte,
Metrifica recte, voces intellige recte.

How well John of Garland succeeded in this laudable endeavor cannot be discussed until at least these three works have been carefully edited. Just as it is passing strange that all the works of Roger Bacon have not been well edited in our day, so it is almost as strange that the editing of the works of John of Garland has scarcely begun.

¹¹ *Ars lectoria ecclesie (Accentarium)*. Incipit: Ecclesie sacre modulans lex metrica servit. Manuscripts:

Bruges, MS 546, fols. 53v-77r.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 385, pp. 68-140.

Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. C. 496, fols. 26-39v. Incomplete. Has only about 940 lines.

Lincoln Cathedral, MS 132 (C. 5. 8), fols. 81-99v. Incomplete. Has only about 1250 lines and few glosses.

London, Brit. Mus. Royal MSS 15 A xxxi (8), fols. 43v-73.

London, Brit. Mus. Add. MS 15832, fols. 1v-28v.

Erfurt, MS Q 156.

A fragment containing the last 30 lines is in Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. G 96, p. 132.

¹² See above, p. 107.

¹³ The salient portions of this prose introduction are printed in Scheler, "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch*, VI, 50.

Owing to its more interesting content the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) has fared a little better than its companion works. Habel had access to the Erfurt manuscript and made a short analysis of the work.¹⁴ It is a pity that he did not continue his good work on John of Garland by editing at least this grammatical work. In recent years various English scholars noted the list of his books which the author gives near the end of the work and which we have fully utilized for the first time at the beginning of this chapter.¹⁵ In the middle ages it was also used by Jean de Vignai and by other glossators.¹⁶

The work seems to be definitely dated in the following passage near the end of the work:

Parisius superis gaudens tanquam paradisus
Philosophos alit egregios, ubi quicquid Athene
Quicquid Aristotiles, quicquid Plato vel Galienus
Ediderant, legitur; ubi pascit pagina sacra,
Subtiles animas celesti pane refectas.
Inter quos, Galtere, meam studiose camenam
Ingeniis suppono tuis; tua gloria stabit
Extendetque tuum ventura in secula nomen.
Mille ducentenis ter denis quatuor annos
Conjugas annis, sunt edita scripta Johannis
Post incarnatum sacra de virgine verbum;
Istaque Parisius est ars lectoria lecta,
Me vivente meis applaudit gratia dictis
Parisiusque meam gaudet celebrare camenam,
Quamvis sepe stilum livor puerilis obumbret.

Scheler, who printed these lines in 1865, did not state that they point to 1234 as the date of the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*). He believed that Galterus, who is praised so highly, was Gautier de Château-Thierry, chancellor of Paris, to whom this work was probably dedicated as was the *Commentarius* in 1246. When Hauréau saw these lines as printed by Scheler he concluded that they gave 1234 as the date of the work and he argued that Galterus could not be Gautier de Château-Thierry, who did not hold the chancellorship until 1246, but that it was Gauthier de Cornut, archbishop of Sens and one of the glories of the University of Paris.¹⁷ Habel and Faral accepted 1234 as the date of the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*).

¹⁴ "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX (1909), 17-18.

¹⁵ Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *British Museum: Catalogue of western manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 3 vols., London, 1921, II, 151. Now see also A. De Poorter, *Revue des bibliothèques* (1926), 126-28.

¹⁶ Hauréau, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXX (1888), 286; and his *Notice*, 55.

¹⁷ Hauréau, *Notice*, 55, actually says that Gautier de Château-Thierry became chancellor in 1244 after Eudes (Odo) de Châteauroux, thus falling into an old error which he himself had corrected on p. 6 of his *Notice*, where he proved from the *De mysteriis ecclesie* and the *De triumphis ecclesie* that Gautier de Château-Thierry became chancellor after master Petrus Parvus who held that office toward the end of 1245.

The lines above quoted do not necessarily state that it was written in 1234. They say that in 1234 some works of John of Garland were published (glosses explain: *id est publicata vel natata*). Then they go on to say that this book, namely, the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*), was read in Paris with much acclaim, but the date is not given. Until further evidence is forthcoming we must hold to the original clue given by Scheler and state that the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) was written while Gautier de Château-Thierry was holding high offices, 1246–1249.¹⁸

*De orthographia*¹⁹

The title of this unpublished book is misleading, for it is a poetical treatise of about 550 lines on sounds of letters and supplements the *Compendia* of John of Garland. Although the Bruges manuscript of the work attributes it to a William of Lombardy, Hauréau and Habel are inclined to believe that it was written by John of Garland, as is clearly stated in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript.²⁰

Johannes de Garlandia in Doctrinali

In one of his few references to our author, C. Thurot made the shrewd observation in a gloss that John of Garland had actually written a commentary on the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa-Dei.²¹ In the light of John's constant denunciation of this popular grammar such a thing seems preposterous at first sight. In 1888 Hauréau found that Jean de Vignai cited John of Garland thus (1298):

"Unde Jo. de Garlandia in Doctrinali: —

Is genitivus habet semperque brevis fore debet."²²

In the face of this evidence Hauréau argued that Thurot could not be right and that the citation in Jean de Vignai must be faulty. However, in his careful edition of the *Doctrinale*, D. Reichling found three manuscripts of that work containing many interpolations and changes made by John of Garland, which prove that he stooped to revise the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa-Dei, whom he had condemned

¹⁸ Gautier de Château-Thierry was chancellor of Paris 1246 to June, 1249, and bishop of Paris June, 1249 to September, 1249. A marginal gloss in the Bruges MS over *Galtere* reads: "de reformat." See note on line 367 of the paraphrase of the *Morale scolarium*.

¹⁹ *De orthographia*. Incipit: Si quis in ecclesia legis usquam verbula dya. Manuscripts:

Bruges, MS 548, fols. 35–45v.

Wolfenbüttel, MS 267, Gud. lat., fols. 37–46.

²⁰ Hauréau, *Notice*, 65. Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," 16–17.

²¹ *Notices et extraits*, Paris, XXII, part II, 510.

²² *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXX, 285.

so often, and whom he had accused of plagiarism in his *Compendium grammaticae*.²³ Roger Bacon reproached the lexicographer Brito for citing the author of the *Doctrinale*, "quia numquam fuit dignus auctoritate."²⁴ It is not unlikely that John of Garland and Roger Bacon had sympathetic personal contacts in Paris and that Bacon may have derived some of his critical fire from his older countryman.

In spite of all his efforts at improvement, the *Doctrinale* in its original form became a standard textbook even in universities, whereas the revision made by John of Garland, together with his own works on grammar, have never aroused much more than antiquarian interest.²⁵

*Liber de constructionibus*²⁶

This book is a good example of logic applied to grammar and rhetoric. Grabmann examined it in some detail and came to the conclusion that the enormous intricacy of the finespun sophistications fully merit the condemnation which was inserted in the title of the Basle manuscript. There is no reason offhand to doubt that John of Garland was the author of the book. It should therefore be edited and studied as an example of scholastic methods in vogue in Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century. Its Parisian origin is made more certain by the following proposition, which is developed in four folios of condensed script: "O magister, te non legente Parisius dicendum est vhe scholaribus," which is also treated in a collection of *Sophismata logicalia* in Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 16135 (XIII century), fol. 3r ff. The following is another significant proposition: "Amatus sum vel fui quia legitur Virgilium," which fills nine folios.

²³ *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei*, Berlin, 1893, pp. liii-lvii. These three MSS are:

1. Codex Bibl. Laurentianae Mediceae Plut. XXV, Sin. Cod. 5. fols. 28a-80a. (John of Garland is named in a gloss.)
2. Codex Bibl. Nat. Parisianae 14745, fols. 47a-84a.
3. Codex Musei Brit. Arundel. 394, fols. 44a-94a.

²⁴ *Compendium studii philosophiae*, in *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, I, 477. Cited by C. Thurot, *Notices et extraits*, XXII, part II, 28.

²⁵ Böcking has a note which should lead to the investigation of the question whether John of Garland also revised the *Grecismus*. In an edition of the *Nomina et verba defectiva*, printed in Cologne, 1501, he found this gloss: "causa efficiens dicitur fuisse magister Iohannes de Garlandia, qui hunc librum ex diversis autoribus autenticis s. ex antiquo grecismo novo hugutione in unam formam . . . redigit." This leads Böcking to add that John of Garland (whom he still places in the eleventh century) emended the *Grecismus* in the century after its appearance, together with the *Librum derivationum* of Hugutio Pisanus, which, he says, was edited in the beginning of the thirteenth century.—*Ulrichi Hutteni operum supplementum*, ed. by Ed. Böcking, II, Leipzig, 1869, 376-77.

²⁶ *Liber de constructionibus*. Manuscript:

Ioannis de Garlandia grammatici, liber de constructionibus quarundam orationum insolitarum per questiones et sophisticas argutias. Iam dudum ab omnibus pene scholis neglectus et haud immerito vilipensus et explosus. Basle, MS B VIII 4, fols. 47r-76r. This manuscript was listed by G. Haenel, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, Leipzig, 1830, 519, and is described by M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, II, 116-17. Haenel, 275, also listed, "Regule magistri Gerlandi de dialectica in V lib. distincta," Orléans, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 216. See M. Grabmann, "Die Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen Sprachlogik", *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, Munich, 1926, 104-46.

*Parisiana poetria de arte prosaica, metrica, et rhythmica*²⁷

This is one of the most interesting works of John of Garland and merits much more attention than it has received hitherto. It is an example of the transformation which the subject of rhetoric underwent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries due to the unusual development of the *Ars dictaminis* which I have treated in other connections.²⁸ The work of John of Garland is often mentioned simply as his *Parisiana* and its contents also point again and again to its Parisian origin. It thus gives us a picture of the *Ars dictaminis* at the great French university which contrasted in this respect so very vividly with the University of Bologna where the subject took a decidedly practical turn. Full of enthusiasm for the art of versification in all its forms, John of Garland stressed primarily this aspect of 'rhetoric' which was being laughed down and out of the University of Bologna in his lifetime. Here again we see him play the rôle of a champion of a losing cause. Nevertheless, in a history of rhetoric in the thirteenth century, this book of John of Garland will constitute an important source of information on more than one branch of that subject.

As in all manuals of this kind, we find an exposition of the theory of the subject illustrated by examples which serve as models for a wide variety of metrical and prose compositions. The writing of letters of all kinds forms an important part of the work. Some of these models furnished by John of Garland have been utilized by Charles H. Haskins to illustrate the life of students in the middle ages.²⁹ W. Cloetta has used this collection for his history of comedy and tragedy in the

²⁷ *Parisiana poetria*. Incipit: *Parisiana iubar diffundit gloria clerus*. Printed editions: Fragments of this work were printed by Thomas Wright and J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquiae antiquae*, 2 vols., London, 1841, I, 30–32; Ludwig Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, in *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte*, IX (München, 1863), 485–512, "Poetria magistri Iohannis anglici de arte prosayca metrica et rithmica"; Charles Thurot, *Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge*, in *Notice et extraits des manuscrits*, XXII, part II (Paris, 1868), 453–57; F. Zarncke, "Zwei mittelalterliche Abhandlungen über den Bau rhythmische Verse," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch historische Classe*, XXIII (1871), 34–96; C. Fierville, *Une grammaire latine inédite du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1886, 109–15.

The above editors did not know that they were dealing with a work by John of Garland. It was left for Giovanni Mari to publish the work under the author's name. The section on *Ars rithmica* is in Giovanni Mari, *Trattati medievali di ritmica latina*, Milan, 1899 (=Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere, XX (1899), 373–496); that on *Ars prosaica et versificatoria* was published by Mari under the title "Poetria magistri Iohannis anglico de arte prosayca metrica et rithmica," in *Romanische Forschungen*, XIII (1902), 883–965. The latter has been analyzed by E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1924, 378–80. Faral has pointed out that Mari's work requires correction. To encourage someone to undertake a new edition of this important work it may be well to list the manuscripts as given by Habel: Bruges, MS 546, fol. 148v–174v; Munich, MS lat. 6911; Abbey of Admont, MS 637, fols. 29a–40b; Vienna, Bibl. imp. MS 3121, fols. 154b–158b; Cambridge, MS More 121; LI I. 14 [2143]. Tanner and Cloetta state that there is a manuscript in Oxford.

²⁸ L. J. Paetow, *The arts course*, chap. III; *The battle of the seven arts*, 24–27.

²⁹ "Life of mediaeval students as seen in their letters," *American Historical Review*, III (1897–1898), 203–29.

middle ages,³⁰ and the hymns which are given as illustrations of various forms of versification have begun to be garnered in hymnologies.³¹

From internal evidence Rockinger concluded that the *Poetria* was written in the seventh decade of the thirteenth century but he strained his evidence to agree with the traditional date 1270 assigned by bibliographers to John the Grammarian, whom he accepted as the author of the work, not knowing that he is identical with John of Garland.³² Hauréau arrived at *circa* 1260 from internal evidence which he does not indicate.³³ We have seen that the book was written after the *Epithalamium*, which it quotes, and before 1246–1249, because it is mentioned in the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*).³⁴

*Exempla honeste vite*³⁵

Under this peculiar title John of Garland wrote for a friend a short treatise in 122 distichs on rhetorical figures (*rhetoricos colores*). Its title in full, *Exempla honeste vite quam debent habere prelati, coloribus verborum et sententiarum insignita*, and internal evidence led Habel to believe that this friend was a young English cleric. It supplements the *Poetria* and some of the examples are identical in both works.³⁶

Fortunately John of Garland invented his examples and in doing so often speaks of himself and mentions two well-known contemporaries, Fulk, dean of York, also mentioned in the *De mysteriis ecclesie* and in the *Morale scolarium*,³⁷ and John Mansel, the right-hand man of king Henry III of England.³⁸ His acquaint-

³⁰ *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance: I, Komödie und Tragödie im Mittelalter*, Halle, 1890, 15, note 2, 31, 126–27, 134. See also George E. B. Saintsbury, *A history of criticism and literary taste in Europe*, I, 408.

³¹ *Analecta hymnica*, ed. by C. Blume and G. M. Dreves, vol. L.

³² Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, 485–90.

³³ B. Hauréau, *Notice*, 82.

³⁴ See above, pp. 107, 114. In a list of books repaired in the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1508, we find: "Iohannes de Gerlandia de artificio orate elocutionis," see M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 172. This may have been a portion of the *Poetria*.

Diversitates metrorum is a small tract ascribed to John of Garland and found in Oxford, MS Digby 100, fol. 32v. ff. Habel believes that it was composed from the master's lectures by one of his students.

³⁵ *Exempla honeste vite*. Incipit: Rethoricos a me petis, o dilecte, colores. Printed edition: Edwin Habel, "Die Exempla honestae vitae des Johannes de Garlandia: eine lateinische Poetik des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIX (1911), 131–54, edited from the unique manuscript of the work, Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 10358, fols. 283v–287v, described in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, XVII (1856), 402–4, which enabled Hauréau to write his illuminating pages in his *Notice*, 74–78. Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1924, 46, states that the text of Habel contains mistakes and that the work adds extremely little to our extant knowledge about rhetoric in the thirteenth century.

³⁶ See Mari's edition of the *Poetria* in *Romanische Forschungen*, XIII (1902), 883 ff.

³⁷ See note on line 89 of the paraphrase of the *Morale scolarium*.

³⁸ Line 291, "Dudum Parisius doctor, Manselle Johannes," is a new fact concerning John Mansel, who was not known to have been a master at Paris.

ance with English noblemen adds to our indirect evidence that John of Garland may have taught the sons of English nobles during his visit to England some time between 1232 and 1241. From these names Habel has been able to date the work between 1257 and 1259. John Mansel was sent to Germany to negotiate the election of Richard of Cornwall. This election, which took place on January 13, 1257, is mentioned in the *Exempla honeste vite*, ll. 271-72. The death of Fulk of York in 1259, which is not mentioned, furnishes the *terminus ad quem*. Hence John of Garland wrote this work about 1258.

WORDBOOKS

*Dictionarius*¹

John of Garland's keen interest in Latin language and literature led him to compose various books which treat important groups of words collected for the use of his students who were obliged to struggle with the language without the convenience of dictionaries in our sense of the word. As a rule these words were grouped not alphabetically but topically. This is the form of John of Garland's

¹ *Dictionarius*. Incipit: Dictionarius dicitur libellus. Printed editions:

1. H. Géraud (ed.), "Dictionnaire de Jean de Garlande," in *Paris sous Philippe le Bel d'après des documents originaux*, Paris, 1837, appendix II, 580-612 [Documents inédits, première série, histoire politique]. See review by E. Littré in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXII (1852), 11-13.

2. Le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (ed.), *Annales de la Société d'émulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre*, VIII, 2^e série, no. 1, Bruges, 1850, 160-76, 219-20. The editor inserted this incomplete edition in the midst of a review of "Les ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e siècle, par le Comte de Laborde, v. II." He printed from Bruges MS 546, omitting the commentary but inserting the French glosses. On p. 168 he reproduced a curious picture of a plow found in the manuscript. He dated the work *circa* 1220. Only after his work was finished did he learn of Géraud's edition and of Le Clerc's demonstration that John of Garland flourished in the thirteenth century.

3. Thomas Wright (ed.), "Dictionarius of John Garland" in *A volume of vocabularies from the tenth century to the fifteenth* [A library of national antiquities published by Joseph Mayer at his own expense, I], London, 1857, 120-38, see also pp. x-xi. The revised edition of this work by R. P. Wülker, *Anglo-Saxon and old English vocabularies*, 2 vols., London, 1884, does not reprint John of Garland's *Dictionarius*. Ad. v. Keller has analyzed this edition in his *Jahrbücher*, II, 221 ff.

4. Aug. Scheler (ed.), "Trois traités de lexicographie latine du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle: 1) Johannes de Garlandia, Dictionarius," etc., *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VI (1865), 43-49, 142-62, 287-321, 370-79.

From a note in Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 11282, Géraud gathered that the *Dictionarius* was edited by Vincent Carrer and printed by Laurent Hastinque in Caen, 1508, under the title: "Johannis de Garlandia vocabularium, sive vocum ad artes pertinentium expositio." This book has not been found.

Franz Joseph Mone, under the misleading title, "Aus dem Dictionarium Johannis de Garlandia," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* (1835), 495-98, printed extracts from the *De nominibus utensilium* of Alexander Neckam, now edited in full by Wright and by Scheler in the works mentioned above.

Since all these editions are insufficient it is well for scholars to list the manuscripts of this important work to prepare for a new edition. The following have come under my observation:

Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 8447 (4), fols. 48-57. At end, "Petrus de Almenechis scripsit hunc Dictionarium, 1268, octavo mense junii." Hauréau surmised that this may have been one of the students of John of Garland. He quoted at length from fol. 50.

most famous wordbook entitled *Dictionarius* which he defined thus: "Dictionarius dicitur libellus iste a dictionibus magis necessariis quas tenetur quilibet scolasticus non tantum in scrinio de lignis facto, sed in cordis armariolo retinere." Here is the first use of the word 'dictionary,' an invention of sufficient importance to make the inventor and his book more widely appreciated in the world of scholarship.²

John of Garland wrote this prose work when he was a young teacher in Paris. It is an elementary Latin manual listing chiefly the names of common and usual

Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 4120, fol. 114-121v. On paper. Anonymous. At end: "Iste liber fuit factus anno domini MCCCXLVIII." Géraud did not use this manuscript. It is followed by two other dictionaries, the first of which is Latin-French.

Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 11282, fol. 1-29v. A beautiful little book of the thirteenth century which Géraud made the basis of his printed edition. It is followed by a *Liber hymnorum* not listed in Delisle's Catalogue.

Paris, Bibl. nat. MS 7679. On paper. Contains two imperfect copies of the *Dictionarius* on fols. 1-23 and fols. 34v-46v. Both were used by Géraud.

Paris, Bibl. Mazarine MS 3792 (28A), 24 fols. A fourteenth-century manuscript written in unusually large clear script.

Lille, MS 369 (4). Has an interlinear French translation with Latin annotations in the margin. Used by Scheler.

Rouen, MS 1026 (0. 32). Here the *Dictionarius* is followed by the *Facetus* and the *Distigium*.

Dijon, Bibl. S. Benigne, MS 137 (13). "Joannis de Gallandia Dictionarium vocum usitatorum in communi conversatione." Followed by a dictionary of obscure words.

Bruges, MS 536, fols. 95r-101r. Here the *Dictionarius* is preceded by "Summa Alexandri Nequam, de nominibus utensilium."

Bruges, MS 546, fols. 12-24v. Both of these Bruges MSS were used by Scheler. Laude, 482, calls attention to a nasty joke on women on fol. 22r.

London, Brit. Mus. MS Harl. 1002 (18), fols. 176-181v. This MS has the following variation of the author's name: Johannes de Garlandea.

London, Brit. Mus. MS Cotton. Titus D. xx, fols. 51-66v. This and the previous manuscript were used by Wright.

Oxford, Bodl. MS G. 96, p. 198v-199r. A mere fragment containing the first two pages.

Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. C. 496, fols. 1-9v. Imperfect. The first folio is missing. An excellent copy in beautiful script.

Oxford, Bodl. MS G. 99, fols. 156-162v. Full glosses.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 136, pp. 31-44. Very full glosses. Alexander Neckam's *De utensilibus* is found on pp. 1-20.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 385, pp. 141-51. On pp. 7-61 it also has the "Sacerdos ad altare accessurus," published in part by C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the history of mediaeval science*, Cambridge, 1924, 372-76.

Lincoln Cathedral, MS 132 [C. 5. 8], fols. 101-108v.; 10. Many glosses.

Winchester Cathedral, MS 111 A.

Worcester Cathedral, MS Q. 50, fols. 18v-27v.

Dublin, Trinity College, MS D. 4. 9 (170), no. 3. Promptuarium (parvolorum) incipit: "Dictionarius dicitur libellus iste." Followed by Alexander Neckam's *De nominibus utensilium*. At end: "Explicit Dictionarius magistri Johannis de Garlandia. Textum hujus libri fecit Parisius, glosas vero Tholose." Meyer said that this manuscript book contains two copies of the *Dictionarius* but Schenkl indicates only one.

Erfurt, Amplonianische Handschriftensammlung: O 12, fols. 1-12v. In this manuscript Habel found some German glosses.

² Scheler, "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch*, VI (1865), 287, did not find the word in Du Cange and his continuators and thought it very probable that John of Garland was the first to use it. Murray's Oxford Dictionary states unequivocally that he invented the word.

³ See above, p. 88. Note the excellent use made of the *Dictionarius* by C. H. Haskins, *The rise of universities*, New York, 1923, 90-92.

things which the young students saw all about them in Paris.³ It begins with a catalogue of the parts of the body, "Placet igitur a membris humani corporis inchoare, rerum promptuarium evolvendo." Its prototype was the *De nominibus utensilium* of Alexander Neckam, which Thomas Wright long ago aptly described as "the first of a class of tracts, common enough in later times, for teaching the scholars to remember the Latin names of different articles, by connecting them together in a descriptive narrative. . . . The author begins by describing the different apartments of a house."⁴ In the schools of Paris today books of this sort are still common.

Hauréau made a strong plea for a new edition of the *Dictionarius* of John of Garland.⁵ He pointed out the great importance of the commentary, which is very extended in some manuscripts and which is absolutely essential for a full understanding of the meager prose text. Previous editors picked and chose here and there among the glosses of the few manuscripts which have thus far been utilized. Scheler did better than Wright, Géraud, and Kervyn de Lettenhove, but even when all their editions are put side by side much is still to be desired as Hauréau has shown by illustrations from the glosses of Bibl. nat. MS lat. 8447 and Bibl. Mazarine, MS 3792 (28 A). Doubtless the Trinity College, Dublin, manuscript would give a similar rich yield. Du Cange did not even utilize the text of the *Dictionarius*, to say nothing of the glosses. A new era will open in medieval Latin lexicography and in comparative studies of medieval Latin and old French and English when the *Dictionarius* of John of Garland, in one sense the first of all dictionaries, and his other wordbooks receive the attention of modern scholars which they deserve.

We have seen that the *Dictionarius* was perhaps the earliest work of John of Garland, written, as he says, for boys when he himself was but a boy.⁶ Its *terminus a quo* is usually given as 1218 because it contains, in chapter 49, a reference to the death of Simon de Montfort, which occurred in that year at the siege of Toulouse.⁷ That passage was clearly written after 1229 when John of Garland came to Toulouse. There is no good reason to believe, however, that the whole *Dictionarius* was written after 1229. Chapter 49 is inserted between a description of the millers and the fullers of Paris and in all probability was added to the work which the author brought with him from Paris to Toulouse. We have thirteenth-

³ J. E. B. Mayor, "Latin-English and English-Latin lexicography," *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, Cambridge, England, II (1855), 271-90; IV (1857), 1-44. See IV, 9-10, and also 5-9, which touch on John of Garland. See also Robinson Ellis, "A contribution to the history of the transmission of classical literature in the middle ages, from Oxford MSS," *American Journal of Philology*, X (1889), 159-64; and M. Esposito, "Notes on some unpublished poems attributed to Alexander Neckam," *English Historical Review*, XXX (1915), 461, where the extant MSS of the *De nominibus utensilium* are listed.

⁵ *Notice*, 38-48.

⁶ See above, p. 107.

⁷ Scheler, "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch*, VI, 153, chap. 49, which begins as follows: "In civitate Tolosae, nondum sedato tumultu belli, vidi antemuralia," etc.

century evidence in support of this hypothesis for, at the end of the Dublin Trinity College MS D. 4-9 (XIIIth century) we read that John of Garland wrote the text of the *Dictionarius* in Paris, the glosses in Toulouse.⁸

There is no room for doubt that the *Dictionarius* was written in Paris before 1229 when John of Garland was a master there.⁹ It may have been written even before 1218 but for the present it is fairly safe to date it about 1220, an approximation first made by Kervyn de Lettenhove in 1850.

*Commentarius*¹⁰

This is a prose work similar to the preceding but devoted to words which apply especially to the life of the nobility, both lay and ecclesiastical, with special reference to courtiers. In the manuscripts it is therefore not strange to find that many words are explained by their French equivalents.

The author tells us that the work was written at the request of some rich persons.¹¹ A gloss in the Bruges MS says that the work was composed for Aymer, brother of the king of England.¹² This was the third son of Isabella of Angoulême, John Lackland's wife, whose second husband was Hugh, count of La Marche. Aymer was thus the half-brother of Henry III of England. These chance references make it very likely that John of Garland did go to England to teach the sons of princes as is stated by Bale and Pits.¹³ Thus the *Commentarius* was probably a courtier's book which grew out of his experience as a tutor of noble English youths. This journey to England was probably made after 1232, the year of his return to Paris from Toulouse, and before 1241, the date of the *Morale scolarium*, in which the journey is mentioned in lines 603-608.

The *Commentarius* was composed in Paris in 1246 when Gautier de Château-Thierry was chancellor.¹⁴

⁸ "Explicit Dictionarius magistri Johannis de Garlandia. Textum hujus libri fecit Parisius, glosas vero Tholose." Paul Meyer, *La chanson de la croisade contre les Albigeois commencée par Guillaume de Tudèle par un poète anonyme*, 2 vols., Paris, 1875-79 (Société de l'histoire de France), II, p. xxiii. Without knowledge of the Dublin MS, Hauréau, *Notice*, 41, had found it evident that John of Garland wrote the text and the gloss of the *Dictionarius*.

⁹ He repeatedly refers to himself as "magister Johannes," in chapters 75, 76, 77, 78.

¹⁰ *Commentarius*. Incipit: *Commentarius liber iste curialium personarum*. Manuscripts: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 385, pp. 199-211.

Bruges, MS 546, fols. 77-83v.

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2052, fols. 64-72.

The manuscript in Rome was discovered by C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the history of mediaeval science*, Cambridge, 1924, 358, who says it is dated 1246.

¹¹ "Quo vitio remoto, pauca dictionum granula, quae Deus mihi contulit, videlicet grammaticam competentem divitibus postulantibus, publicabo."—Hauréau, *Notice*, 79.

¹² Scheler, "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch*, VI (1865), 54. "Titulus est: Incipit liber commentarius curie et expositorius negociorum curialium et vocabulorum . . . per mag. J. de G. qui librum istum composuit domino Ademaro fratri regis Anglie, gloriosi principis Anglorum."

¹³ See above, pp. 94-5.

¹⁴ The *Commentarius* ends thus: "Hec edita sunt Parisius sub venerabili cancellario parisius Galtero de Castello Teodorici anno domini MCCXL^o sexto gloriosum et venerabilem partum beate

*Dictionarius metricus*¹⁵

This work consists of 120 Latin hexameters¹⁶ listing about 700 nouns and adjectives grouped roughly in classes, such as trees and plants, domestic animals, diseases, parts of the body, etc. Many of the words are difficult and unusual and are often explained in the manuscripts by French, English, and German glosses. That would seem to point to this work as the *Libellum de dictionibus obscuris* ascribed to John of Garland by Boston de Bury and subsequent bibliographers although they seem to designate as such the "Sacerdos ad altare accessurus."

Hauréau¹⁷ and Scheler did not attempt to decide between John of Garland and Alexander Neckam as the author. Habel inclined the balance slightly in favor of John of Garland when he found that the only printed edition of the work of which he was cognizant, that of Paris, 1496, named him as the author. Esposito did not wrestle with the problem and was content to refer to Hauréau.¹⁸ We have seen that the printed edition of Paris, 1504, and the undated early print in the library of Troyes both ascribe it to John of Garland. No one has ever attempted to date the work.

virginis marie demonstrante. Explicit commentarius Magistri J. de Garlandia." Now see A. De Poorter, *Revue des bibliothèques* (1926), 128-29.

Scheler found that the *Commentarius* often refers to the *Dictionarius* and Hauréau, *Notice*, 80, gives the following example: "De scholarium instrumentis et de libris suis dictum est in Dictionario meo." There is little in the *Dictionarius* as we have it which would answer to this cross-reference. Paragraphs 56, 60, 61 touch briefly on the implements and books of priests, but the reference would apply much more aptly to a treatise found on pp. 7-61 in one of the manuscript books which contains the *Commentarius* (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 385) and there entitled (in a table of contents, written in the fifteenth century), "Dictionarius Magistri Johannis de Garlandia, cum commento," commencing, "Sacerdos ad altare accessurus." There is no other known manuscript of this work. It is possible that the following may be a fragment of it: Rouen, MS 553 (A. 452), fol. 241, "Joannis de Garlandia (?) fragmentum. "Aporisiarius dicitur secretarius scriptor regis . . .," assigned by the catalogue to the XII-XIII century.

Boston de Bury, Bale, and Pits all ascribe to John of Garland a *Libellum de dictionibus obscuris* which Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 310, distinguishes from his well-known *Dictionarius* thus: "Dictionarium de dictionibus obscuris cum commentario, lib. 1. 'Dictionarius ad res explicandas,' MS bibl. Gonv. et Caii Cantabr. *Pr. Comm.* 'Sacerdos ad altare accessurus.'"

This *Sacerdos ad altare accessurus* contains a long passage on the books of students which would amply justify the cross-reference in the *Commentarius* quoted above. C. H. Haskins, "A list of text-books from the close of the twelfth century," in his *Studies in the history of mediaeval science*, Cambridge, 1924, 356-76, has edited this passage. From a very careful examination of internal evidence, however, he concludes that the *Sacerdos ad altare accessurus* was written by Alexander Neckam. There the matter must rest for the present. Since the relations between the works of Alexander Neckam and John of Garland are very close, adequate critical editions of all the important works of these two Englishmen will doubtless clear up many moot points in the intellectual history of the middle ages.

¹⁵ *Dictionarius metricus*. Incipit: Olla patella tripes coclear lanx fuscina cratis. Printed editions:

1. *Synonima Britonis et Duodecim decades Iohannis de Gallandia*, Paris, 1496 (in München, Hof- und Staatsbibliothek). Found by Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX, 11-12.

2. *Duodecim decades Iohannis de Gallandia* [fols. 89v-90v] [Printed with] *Synonima Britonis* [which are the *Synonyms* often ascribed to John of Garland and beginning: "Ad mare ne videar"]. Expliciunt *Synonima Britonis Decadesque duodecim Iohannis de Gallandia*: hic suum sumpserunt

*Unum omnium*¹⁹

Beginning with Boston of Bury almost all the old bibliographers ascribed to John of Garland a work with this curious title²⁰ and of which nothing was known except the imperfect *incipit* until Habel found two manuscripts and gave some extracts.²¹ It proves to be a versified lexicographical work of about three thousand lines in rough alphabetical order.

Synonyma et equivoca

The name of John of Garland is attached to various collections of synonyms and homonyms which must have been very popular in the middle ages and in the early days of printing, for they have come down to us in numerous manuscripts and in old printed editions. We must distinguish clearly between the following books which come under consideration:

peryodum exartus quidem parisius pro dyonisio rosse. Anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo quarto. Die vero vicesima quarta mensis octobris. [Thus dated Paris, 1504. The *Adages* of Erasmus come first in this volume which is in the Bibl. nat. Rés. Z 946].

3. Opusculum rem domesticam latinitate donans cui *Olla patella* nomen inditum est. Incipit: Duodecim decades multarum rerum difficilium significative, Olla patella tripes cloclear: lanx: fuscina cratis. [Printed in Guy de Fontenay, *Magna synonyma*, Paris, 1517, found in the Bibl. nat., Rés. Z 1069].

4. Garlandia, Johannes de. Vocabularius Olla patella dictus. S. ind. typ. [Rothamagi?]. [Mentioned in M. Pellechet, *Cat. gen. des incunables*, III, p. 483, and at Troyes E. 16. 3888 (6)].

5. A. Scheler (ed.), "Olla Patella: vocabulaire latin versifié," *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, Ghent, XXI (1878), 17-30, 104-15, 268-77; XXII (1879), 116-26, 182-88.

Since there is still very much confusion about this work it may be helpful to list the eight manuscripts as given by Habel: Douai, MS 438; Metz, MS 169; Munich, MS lat. 4146; Bern, MS 383; Lille, MS 369; Brussels, MS 9751; Bruges, MS 548, fols. 45v.-47; Erfurt, MS Q 378. The manuscript of Douai names John of Garland as the author; that of Metz ascribes it to Alexander Neckam; the other six are anonymous.

¹⁶ Hence the title: Duodecim decades. Scheler found only 114 lines.

¹⁷ *Notice*, 80-81.

¹⁸ M. Esposito, "Notes on some unpublished poems attributed to Alexander Neckam," *English Historical Review*, XXX (1915), 465.

¹⁹ *Unum omnium*. Incipit: Commoda dicemus. Manuscripts:

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 121, fols. 84-125.

Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Luneb. 69, fols. 1-72.

Habel says he also found fragments of the work in Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 893 and Rawl. G. 96. The latter is not a fragment but a good copy of the complete work with many glosses, extending from page 1 to 90.

M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 487, no. 387 and p. 491, no. 417, reveals that there were two manuscripts of the work in the library of Dover Priory.

²⁰ Gatién-Arnoult, "Jean de Garlande," 22, made the far-fetched guess that the *Unum omnium* of John of Garland and the *hoc unum* of Bishop Robert Grosseteste might be synonymous.

²¹ Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX, 12-14.

1. A treatise in verse consisting of two parts which are often found together but sometimes are separate:

- a. *Synonyma*, beginning, "Ad mare ne videar latices deferre."²²
- b. *Equivoca*, beginning, "Augustus, -ti, -to, Caesar vel mensis habeto."

2. *Equivoca*, in prose and verse, of which the prose begins, "Quia scire distinguere sophistarum ampullos;" and the verse, "A nomen signat, trahitur, profertur."

Hauréau devoted endless pains to unravel the tangle which is presented by these works²³ and in recent years Habel²⁴ and Faral²⁵ have continued his work with suprisingly different conclusions. Habel is not willing to follow Hauréau who ascribes 2. *Equivoca* to John of Garland; he inclines rather to Matthew of Vendôme, who is named as the author in two manuscripts in Bern and Darmstadt. On the other hand, he clings to the old tradition of the bibliographers that John of Garland wrote 1 a. *Synonyma* and 1 b. *Equivoca*. Faral, apparently without knowledge of the conclusions of Habel, decided that 2. *Equivoca* is probably the work of John of Garland, whereas 1 a. *Synonyma*, and 1 b. *Equivoca*, were written either by Matthew of Vendôme or by Geoffrey of Vinsauf.

It is not our intention to enter into this controversy. These works are interesting and will naturally be studied profoundly by those who will some day edit the other wordbooks of John of Garland and his contemporaries. Here as elsewhere in the intellectual history of the middle ages our cry must be for texts and ever more good texts which satisfy all the requirements of modern scholarship.²⁶

²² *Synonyma* 1, a, has been edited in a recent edition by Matth. Kurz, "Die Synonyma des Johannes von Garlandia," *Jahresberichte des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums im IX Bezirk in Wien*, 1884-85 (also printed separately in *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* no. 47, by A. Pichler's Witwe und Sohn, Vienna and Leipzig [without date]).

²³ Notice, 55-64; to be supplemented by his *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, I, 357.

²⁴ Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX (1909), 19-21.

²⁵ E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, Paris (1924), 6, 361, note.

²⁶ It should be noted that *Synonyma* [Gulielmus] Britonis, Parisiis, 1504 (Bibl. nat. Rés. Z. 946) is nothing more than a copy of 1 a, *Synonyma* beginning, "Ad mare ne videar latices deferre." Heinrich Schenkl, *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Britannica* lists manuscripts of the *Synonyma* under the following numbers, 32 (7), 345, 429, 1964 (8), 2366, 2428, 2635b, 2793 (9) = Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 385, Enchiridion Magistri Galfridi de Vino Salvo, "Ad mare ne videar," 2799 (8); and manuscripts of the *Equivoca* under the following: 1933, 1964 (7), 3795 (2), 2428, 2635b, 2799 (9). For other copies of the *Equivoca* in England see G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum: Catalogue of western manuscripts*, London, 1921, II, 16.

In the Bibl. nat. of Paris I inspected the following early printed copies:

Synonoma [sic] et equivoca magistri Joannis de Garlandia (Rés. X 1396).

Liber synonymorum magistri Johannis de Garlandia, cum expositione magistri Galfridi Anglici Paris, 1502 (Rés. m. x. 60).

Idem, Anvers, 1507 (Rés. p. X. 272).

Multorum vocabulorum equivocorum interpretatio magistri Johannis de Garlandia Anvers, 1507.

*Verba deponentalia**Nomina et verba defectiva**Composita verborum*

All these three works in verse were published in the early days of printing and manuscript copies of them are not rare. The first begins: *Ad vescendum*. It is a short treatise of about 240 lines of verse designed to list the deponent verbs and to indicate the cases which they govern. The verbs are arranged very roughly according to various human activities. Hauréau remained in doubt about the authorship,²⁷ whereas Habel ascribes it provisionally to John of Garland.

The *Nomina et verba defectiva* is still shorter and is a comparatively poor treatment of defective nouns and verbs. Incipit: *Cum defective generant*. In his treatment of words derived from the Hebrew the author demonstrates that he does not know that language. Although all the manuscripts and the printed editions ascribe the work to John of Garland, Habel concludes from internal evidence that it cannot be his.²⁹

On the other hand Habel concedes that the *Composita verborum* (Incipit: *A sipo composita sunt obsipo*), may belong to John of Garland even though it has verses which are found in the *Grecismus*.³⁰ These questions will no doubt be resolved when all the grammatical and lexicographical texts of the thirteenth century are properly edited.

MINOR WORKS, CHIEFLY MORAL AND RELIGIOUS

*Distigium sive Cornutus*¹

The text of this work covers only a few pages of modern print for it consists of but forty-two hexameters arranged in couplets. The lines are little more than a string of difficult Latin words, mostly of Greek origin, so arranged as to present

²⁷ *Notice*, 66-68.

²⁸ "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX, 21-22. Both Hauréau and Habel believed that John Synthen, who is often named as the author, wrote a commentary on the verses which is attested by two early printed editions now in Lille, mentioned by M. Pellechet, *Cat. gen. des incunables*. The following manuscripts seem to contain the work: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 136, fols. 125-30, and Dublin, Trinity College, D. 4. 9 (170) dating from the end of the thirteenth century.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁰ *Ibid.* A 1505 edition of the work, which seems to have escaped the attention of Hauréau although there are copies of it in the Bibliothèque nationale and the Sorbonne, has the following statement in the Introduction: "Causa efficiens: ut Johannes de Garlandia qui hunc librum composuit ut ei inscribitur. Sed, ut quibusdam aliis placet, causa efficiens fuit Johannes Sinthen."

¹ *Distigium sive Cornutus*. Incipit: *Cespitat in phaleris*. Printed editions:

This curious little work, of which Habel had counted 63 manuscripts in 1908, was printed several times before 1500 (Scheler, *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, XXI, 1878, 22). We have called attention to one of these editions, that of 1489, as the first signed book which came from the press of Heinrich Gran of Hagenau.

a series of maxims and sentences of worldly wisdom.² The teaching of morality and of wisdom is evidently subordinated to that of making clear the meaning and nature of several difficult or obscure words which advanced students would meet from time to time in their reading. The little tract might therefore be placed above under "wordbooks" with perfect propriety but it is justifiable to emphasize its superficial moral character here because it has often been confused with the *Morale scolarium*.³

The *Cornutus antiquus* was supplemented by a *Cornutus novus*. The latter was not written by John of Garland. It is, however, generally conceded, in spite of the doubts of Liebl, that he wrote the text of the former although the commentary is not his. These are the reasoned conclusions of Hauréau⁴ which have been accepted by Habel.

The title *Cornutus* has caused much difficulty. Some of the glosses give very fanciful explanations.⁵ Habel believes that it is equivalent to *beanus*, "yellow-bill" (*bec-jaune*), an apprentice who is still in tutelage and has not as yet lost his horns of ignorance,⁶ and that the book was so named because it was designed for the advanced student who had, however, not reached scholastic maturity. If that is the true interpretation it applies with much more force to the freshman of universities, who was called a *bejaunus* and who was often hazed by being dressed up like a wild beast with horns and tusks which were removed with much foolery.⁷ There is an allusion to this custom in the *Morale scolarium*, line 206, the earliest reference to hazing in the University of Paris. Other glosses interpret *Cornutus*

In modern times it was first printed anonymously by Thomas Wright, *A volume of vocabularies*, privately printed in 1857, I, 175-77, under the title "Metrical vocabulary (perhaps of the fourteenth century)," at the head of a piece entitled "Equus caballus" which Wright did not distinguish from the *Cornutus*.

Hans Liebl, *Die Disticha Cornuti, auch Cornutus oder Distigium des Jo. v. Garlandia genannt und der Scholiast Cornutus, mit dem Text des Cornutus antiquus und novus*, Program der kgl. Studien-Anstalt Straubing, Straubing, 1888, first edited the work in a truly modern edition. Liebl's pamphlet exhibits profound scholarship but is printed poorly and couched in the weird form which too frequently obscures important results of German erudition. Liebl did not concede that John of Garland was the author.

Edwin Habel, *Der deutsche Cornutus, erster Theil, Der Cornutus des Johannes de Garlandia, ein Schulbuch des 13. Jahrhunderts, in den deutschen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters zum ersten Male herausgegeben*, Berlin, Mayer and Müller, 1908; zweiter Theil, *Der Novus Cornutus des Otto von Lüneburg*, *ibid.*, 1909, gives the Latin text of the *Cornutus* of John of Garland, together with a translation in modern German, to prepare his readers for the medieval German texts which follow.

² A. Way, *Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum dictionarius anglo-latinus princeps*, 3 vols., London, 1843, 1852, 1865 (Camden Society, nos. 25, 54, 89), III, p. xxxii, found in one of the English manuscripts the following observation: "Intencio est quedam vocabula ex Grecis extorta provecitis proferre, et etiam fatuis et stolidis qui volunt esse magistri antequam sciant."

³ See below, p. 147.

⁴ Hauréau, *Notice*, 27-34. He was certain that the *Distigium* was written by John of Garland because it is attributed to him by Richard de Fournival, a contemporary.

⁵ Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, 28, found the following in a manuscript of Wolfenbüttel, "Et cornutus dicitur propter similitudinem, quia sicut animalia cornuta se cornubus defendunt, ita expertus in hac scientia potest se defendere ab ignorantia, etc." Found also in the 1489 printed edition.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ H. Rashdall, *The universities of Europe in the middle ages*, II, 628-36.

as the name of the author, thus, "Incipit Distigium magistri Cornuti."⁸ Such interpretations led Dom Rivet to conjecture that Magister Cornutus was a pseudonym of John of Garland, as was Magister Facetus, and that John of Garland might therefore be identical with a scholiast called Cornutus who commented on Persius and Juvenal.⁹ This statement induced Hauréau and Liebl to make learned researches among the scholiasts of those two authors but without definitive results. It is clear that even the popular *Cornutus* must be studied again in the light of modern scholarship and with the aid of all the glosses of all the manuscripts. Such a task should appeal to a scholar who is prepared to write for us a history of the knowledge of Greek in Latin Christendom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

*Facetus*¹⁰

*Floretus*¹¹

*De contemptu mundi*¹²

It will be well to dispose of these three poetical works here because they somewhat resemble the *Morale scolarium* in their effort to reform medieval manners. All were very popular in the middle ages. We have many manuscripts of each of them and they all figure in catalogues of incunabula. In one way or another all three have been linked with the name of John of Garland, a slim bond which was considerably strengthened for a time by the conclusions of Dom Rivet, who ascribed them all, without hesitation, to our author.¹³ After a very careful examination of the evidence Hauréau concluded that none of them can be ascribed to John of Garland.¹⁴

There are extant two poems with the title *Facetus* and a third called *Fayfacetus* or *Fagifacetus*, which were very much confused by Dom Rivet. The *Facetus* which concerns us begins:

Cum nihil utilius humanae credo saluti
Quam rerum novisse modos et moribus uti
Quod minus exequitur morosi dogma Catonis
Supplebo pro posse meo, monitu rationis.

⁸ Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 8207. Quoted by Hauréau.

⁹ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, VIII, 95-96.

¹⁰ *Facetus*. Printed, together with the *Floretus* and *De contemptu mundi*, in *Auctores morales octo*, of which there were several editions before 1500.

Carl Schroeder, *Der deutsche Facetus*, Berlin, 1911 (Palaestra, LXXXVI), reached the conclusion that the Latin *Facetus* seems to have been known toward the end of the twelfth century and that it is attributed to an unknown master John. S. Glixelli, "Les contenances de table," *Romania*, XLVII (1921), 2, discusses the *Facetus* in its relation to medieval manuals on table manners.

¹¹ *Floretus*. There is no modern edition of this work. I inspected: *Floretus* [a Joanne de Garlandia] (Ultrajecti, N. Ketelaer et G. de Leempt, circa 1475) in Bibl. nat. Rés. g. Yc. 40.

¹² *De contemptu mundi*. Published by Thomas Wright, *Anglo-Latin satirical poets*, London, 1872, II, 175-200, under Alexander Neckam, and in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, v. 158, pp. 687-706, under St. Anselm.

¹³ *Histoire littéraire*, VIII (1847), 87-95.

¹⁴ *Notice*, 15-27.

Although Jean de Vignai, who wrote toward the end of the thirteenth century, ascribed the *Facetus* to John of Garland, Hauréau still maintained that it was written before his time.¹⁵

The *Floretus* begins:

Nomine Floretus liber incipit, ad bona coeptus
Semper erit tutus ejus documenta secutus.
Hic liber extractus de pluribus est vocitatus
Recte Floretus, quia flos est inde receptus.
Et breviter textus flagrat virtute repletus.

John Gerson commented on this poem of 1160 lines of Leonine verse, and we have medieval French translations. It has been ascribed to St. Bernard, to St. Bonaventura, and to the anti-pope Clement III. Hauréau concludes that the author is unknown.

The *De contemptu mundi* was also attributed to St. Bernard and included among his works by Dom Mabillon. Incipit: Chartula nostra tibi mandat. In modern times it has been published with the works of Alexander Neckam and St. Anselm.¹⁶ Hauréau was certain that the work was written by some poet who lived a century before John of Garland.

*Summa poenitentie*¹⁷

This little manual on confession consists of only 120 lines of verse. Hauréau rather grudgingly praised some of its lines whereas Habel, without reservation, calls it a beautiful little poem. It must have been very popular in the middle ages and during the Renaissance. Le Clerc believed that it might well be John of Garland's work. Hauréau concluded that it was attributed to him without reason. Habel does not question his authorship. Faral has not made up his mind.

¹⁵ See also E. Faral, "Le MS latin 3718 de la Bibl. nat.," *Romania*, XLVI (1920), 254-5, also 252, note 4.

¹⁶ For its relation to Alexander Neckam see M. Esposito, in *English Historical Review*, XXX (1915), 466.

¹⁷ *Summa poenitentie*. Incipit: Peniteas cito, peccator. Habel counted 65 manuscripts of this little work, which was printed at least ten times in the fifteenth century. It was published among the works of Pierre de Blois in the Paris edition of 1667, and in the Oxford, 1847, edition by J. A. Giles, which was copied in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, vol. 207, 1154-55. It has been studied by Le Clerc, *Histoire littéraire*, XXII (1852), 97; Hauréau, *Notice*, 10-13, and in his *Manuscripts latins de la Bibl. nat.*, II, 65 and III (1891), 308; Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX (1909), 30-31; E. Faral, "Le MS latin 3718 de la Bibl. nat.," *Romania*, XLVI (1920), 240-41; and by G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum. Catalogue of western manuscripts*, I (1921), 310. Oxford, Bodl. MS Auct. F. 5. 6, fols. 95 ff., contains a richly glossed copy which may have been overlooked.

*Versus proverbiales*¹⁸

A short poem of 137 lines beginning:

Es tibi si detur, mens illic fixa tenetur.
Sunt individue mens tua resque tue.

Habel, who did not see the unique manuscript, did not venture to pronounce a judgment on the authorship of this work. It contains moralizations not unlike those in the *Morale scolarium*.

*Merarius*¹⁹

This unpublished work was discovered by Way who found that it is mentioned in the *Promptorium parvulorum*.²⁰ He says that this "relic of barbarous Latinity, which seems suited rather to darken knowledge than to initiate the unlearned, may be by John of Garland although his name does not appear in it."

It begins: "Merarii nuper cintillanti jubare pannidensi rejecta," and a gloss explains the title thus: "Mererii, etc.: Hec meraria et hec merenda est comestio qui munducatur in meridie." Way explains that merarius thus seems to signify noon when it was usual to eat a "nunchion," or noon meal. He prints three lines of its almost enigmatical contents.²¹ No one has studied this work since Way examined it about the middle of the last century. It seems to be a tract on exotic words and should be compared with the *Dictionarius metricus*, "*Olla patella*," etc.

Conductum de Tholosa

In one of the glosses of the *Dictionarius* of John of Garland,²² on the passage which describes the city of Toulouse, we read: "Unde in conductu meo de Tholosa dicitur: Alto gradu glorie tollitur Tholosa, etc." M. Antoine Thomas called the attention of E. Faral to this quotation which clearly proves that John of Garland wrote a guidebook for the city of Toulouse. In all probability it was written during his stay in that city, 1229-1232. Nothing further is known about it.

¹⁸ *Versus proverbiales*. Habel, 33-34, found but one manuscript of this unpublished work, Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. C. 496, fol. 10. The piece was first mentioned in Kingsford's article on John of Garland in the *Dictionary of national biography*.

¹⁹ *Merarius*. Manuscripts:

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 136, pp. 52-55. It here follows the *Distigium*. It is not mentioned in the catalogues of J. J. Smith and of M. R. James.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 385, fols. 61-67. Here it follows the *Dictionarius*, and although not mentioned in the old catalogue of J. J. Smith it is now noted in that of M. R. James, II, 442. Both manuscripts have ample glosses.

²⁰ A. Way, *Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum, dictionarius anglo-latinus princeps, auctore fratre Galfrido Grammatico dicto ca. A. D. 1440*, III (1865), p. xxx.

²¹ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 361 (no. 141b), 490 (411), 492 (425), reveals that there was a copy of the *Merarius* in St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and two copies in the library of Dover Priory together with works of John of Garland.

²² Cited by Hauréau, *Notice*, 46, from Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 8447, fol. 53v.

MEDICAL WORK

Memoriale

This work is known solely from the following line in the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*):

Urine signa, morbos, medicamina scripsi.¹

The title is furnished by the following gloss: "Quantum ad librum medicine, et vocatur Memoriale Johannis." From this passage the work was heralded for the first time in 1921 in a catalogue of manuscripts² but no one has thus far followed up this altogether new line of John of Garland's wide interests. At first sight it seems unbelievable that this grammarian should have written a book on remedies and on the diagnosis of diseases from an examination of the urine. However, even a cursory examination of his other works reveals that he was much interested in medicine. In the light of the *Memoriale* we can now appreciate the following curious simile in the *De triumphis ecclesie* (ed. Wright, p. 93, ll. 27-30):

Est velut urinae signum confessio, mentis
Est colamentum, notificatque malum.
Propositum sanctum sequitur miseratio summa,
Sanans exterius, interiusque lavans.

The chapter on medical lore of the *Morale scolarium*³ is not so strange, and we understand much better the passages in the *Dictionarius* which touch on these things, with glosses that read very much like those which explain the chapter in the *Morale scolarium*.⁴ The curious digression in the *Clavis compendii* of 74 lines on diseases and remedies may well be a quotation from the *Memoriale*.⁵ It incidentally tells us that the author was himself not free from the ills that human flesh is heir to and that he resorted to the lancet for blood-letting in order to get relief from pain which kept him at times from his work.⁶

The occasional vague references to a Johannes Garlandius Medicus should now be examined with the greatest care in the hope that we may be able to find

¹ See above, p. 107.

² G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum. Catalogue of western manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 3 vols., London, 1921, II, 53 or 151.

³ Chapter XXXI, lines 585-602. See also the frequent quotations from the *Regimen sanitatis* in the glosses of the *Morale scolarium*.

⁴ *Dictionarius*, ed. by Scheler, paragraphs 43, 44, in his "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch*, VI, 152.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 47-48, where Scheler quotes from Bruges MS 546, fol. 42. See also p. 53 where he quotes a similar short passage from the *Commentarius*, "Saraceni syropis utuntur, id est potibus medicinalibus ex speciebus aromaticis electis ad sanitatem secundum diversas complexionem hominum preparatas."

⁶

"Dat cum flegbotomo mihi flegbotomia quietem,
Nec me permittit ad tempus ferre laborem."—*Ibid.*, 48.

thereby the *Memoriale* of John of Garland.⁷ Fabricius ascribed to this Johannes Garlandius Medicus a Compendium of Alchemy which is listed in many places under the name of John of Garland the Grammarian.⁸ Hauréau demonstrated to the satisfaction of all later scholars that our John of Garland had nothing to do with the *Compendium alchymiae* which he ascribes to Martin Ortolan or Lortholain, an alchemist whom he dates toward the middle of the fourteenth century.⁹ This should not, however, deter those who are interested in the history of medicine and the natural sciences from reopening the whole question of John of Garland's relation to those sciences, a connection which hitherto has never been suspected or thought possible.

WORKS ON COMPUTUS

In many manuscripts, and in almost all the old bibliographies, John of Garland is credited with various works on computus: *Compotus*; *Tabula principalis*; *Contratabula de festis mobilibus*; *Tabula terminorum paschaliū*. Dom Rivet¹⁰ disposed of the *Compotus* by pointing out that this work and the accompanying tables were the work of Gerlandus with whom John of Garland was so often confused.¹¹ Hauréau rejoiced that he was, for once, able to agree with his predecessors, the Benedictines,¹² and Habel follows Hauréau without question.¹³

⁷ There was a *Tractatus urinarum* in the Library of Dover Priory; M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 483 (no. 356). Fabricius, *Bibliotheca*, III (1858), 20, reports that in MS Codice Taurinensi inter latinos 968 there is a work entitled *Distigium* magistri Joannis de Garlandia, an unpublished work in prose, not in verse as is the *Distigium sive Cornutus* of John of Garland. Fabricius believed that it belonged to Johannes Garlandus Medicus.

⁸ Fabricius, *Bibliotheca*, III (1858), 19-20.

⁹ Hauréau, *Notice*, 35-38. He has shown that from a silly misinterpretation of the following line from the *Dictionarius* (ed. Scheler, paragraph 76, p. 160) "Ortolanus [or Hortolanus] magistri Johannis colit in orto suo: olus quod dicitur caulis, etc.," old bibliographers credited John of Garland with a book entitled *Hortolanus*. Boston of Bury went one step farther and identified this with the *Compendium alchymiae* which was later printed in Basel, 1560 and 1571 as *Compendium alchymiae Joannis Garlandii, Angli philosophi doctissimi, cum Dictionario ejusdem artis atque de metallorum tinctura praeparationeque eorumdem libello*. From the various tracts in this volume bibliographers have thus ascribed to John of Garland the following works on alchemy:

1. *Compendium alchymiae*;
2. *Synonymorum in arte alchimista expositio*;
3. *Libellus de praeparatione elixir*;
4. *De mineralibus liber*.

See also Hauréau, "Jean de Vignai," *Histoire littéraire*, XXX (1888), 287, where he explains the origin of the error which ascribed to John of Garland a *Clavis compendii alchymiae*. Now see John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1906, I, 419-22, II, 157-8, and Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, Heidelberg, 1926, 195-203, references which I owe to Dr. George Sarton.

It should be noted that our John of Garland has been given the pseudonym "Hortulanus" by Böcking, *Ulrichi Hutteni operum supplementum*, II, (1869), 376, and that Kingsford, in his article on John of Garland in the *Dictionary of national biography*, quotes a manuscript in which he is called "Jhone Garland or Hortulanus."

¹⁰ *Histoire littéraire*, VIII (1747), 98.

¹¹ See above, p. 97.

¹² Hauréau, *Notice*, 65, "Nous sommes, on le voit, quelquefois d'accord avec nos vénérables prédécesseurs."

¹³ Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX, 118.

Unfortunately, however, this matter cannot be dismissed so categorically. We cannot fly in the face of so much manuscript evidence of the thirteenth and later centuries which ascribes this or that work on computus to John of Garland. No doubt most of those ascriptions are false and apply to works of Gerlandus. But it is altogether possible and even probable that John of Garland wrote on computus. Thus in his *De triumphis ecclesie* (ed. Wright, pp. 87-89) he has a long dissertation on the regulation of the calendar to the confusion of the heretics and to the glory of the saints, and on page 99 he tells how he taught the misguided people of Toulouse the true method of reckoning Easter. Fortunately the important and very interesting history of proposals for calendar reform in the middle ages is attracting some attention in our day. It is to be hoped that researchers in this field will solve the relationship between Gerlandus and John of Garland.¹⁴

WORKS ON MUSIC

In various bibliographies it is stated that John of Garland also wrote works on music. The apparently indefatigable Hauréau did not wrestle with this problem and Habel dismissed it with the remark that one can scarcely ascribe such works to him.¹⁵ The books in question are:

1. *De musica mensurabili positio.*
2. *Introductio musice plane et etiam mensurabilis.*
3. *Optima introductio in contrapunctum pro rudibus.*
4. *Tractatus de cantu plano.*

These works have been printed by E. de Coussemaker.¹⁶ He made some attempt to demonstrate their authorship but could not go very far because knowledge about John of Garland was still very hazy when he wrote. His conclusion was that there were two writers on music in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and one in the fourteenth, all named John of Garland. Such indefinite attributions lead nowhere but nevertheless there is no good reason to say offhand that Coussemaker was mistaken when he identified one of these with our John of Garland. He may well have written books on music, which was one of the seven

¹⁴ Robert Steele, *Compotus fratris Rogeri accedunt Compotus Roberti Grossecapitis Lincolnensis episcopi, Massa Compoti Alexandri de Villa-Dei*, Oxford, 1926 (Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, fasc. vi) does not touch this problem, which will, however, be discussed in a forthcoming work on computus by Mary C. Welborn of the University of California.

¹⁵ "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX, 118. Habel, however, admits that Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, 1, 254, holds that our John of Garland was the true author.

¹⁶ *Scriptorum musica medii aevi*, 4 vols., Paris, 1864-76. For information on John of Garland see I, pp. viii-x, xiii-xiv; III, pp. vii-viii.

¹⁷ "Secundum etiam predictum Guidonem capientissimum, in arte musice excellentissimum, et secundum magistrum Johannem de Gallandia, quondam in studio Parisino expertissimum atque probatissimum." The Einsiedeln MS of this work has "Garlandia."

liberal arts. Coussemaker, III, 23, however, furnished real evidence that a John of Garland who wrote on music was a master in the University of Paris. This comes from Philippe de Vitry's *Ars contrapunctus* written in the fourteenth century.¹⁷ This master may be identical with John of Garland but more research is necessary before one or more of the works on music above mentioned can be attributed to him with complete confidence.¹⁸

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO JOHN OF GARLAND

For the sake of completeness and to avoid confusion it may be helpful to draw up a list of other works which, in one way or another, have become associated with the name of our author. In some cases the connection is extremely far-fetched or even fanciful; in some we have to do with different titles for the same work; in others there may be good reasons.

Opus (or Liber) satiricum

Beginning with Boston of Bury this title has never ceased to bewilder bibliographers. It is merely another name for the *Morale scolarium*.

De rebus ethicis

E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1924, 22, has identified this piece with the *Morale scolarium* but without good reason. This attribution is discussed below in the description of the *Morale scolarium*.

Hortolanus or *Ortolanus*. *Compendium alchymie*. *Synonymorum in arte alchimista expositio*. *Libellus de preparatione elixir*. *De mineralibus liber*.¹⁹

Libellus de dictionibus obscuris. *Dictionarius ad res explicandas*. "Sacerdos ad altare accessurus."²⁰

¹⁸ F. J. Fetis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, ed. 2, III (Paris, 1869), 408, identified the twelfth century writer on music with Jarland of Besançon (Jarlandus Chrysopolitanus, S. Pauli scholarum praeceptor et canonicus), who lived in the first half of the twelfth century, author of the *Candela evangelica* published by D. Martène, *Thesaurus anecd.*, I, 572. This Jarland, Gerland, or Garland, has often been confused with Gerlandus the mathematician of the second half of the eleventh century (see C. H. Haskins, *Studies in mediaeval science*, 85), and thus with John of Garland. See above, p. 97, note 74.

See also the technical study of Walter Niemann, *Ueber die abweichende Bedeutung der Ligaturen in der mensuraltheorie der Zeit vor Johannes de Garlandia: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der altfranzösischen Tonschule des XII. Jahrhunderts*. Beiheft VI of *Publikationen der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1902, 160 pp. He distinguishes between John of Garland, senior (ca. 1190–1240) and a John of Garland, junior (ca. 1300).

¹⁹ See above under *Memoriale*.

²⁰ See above, pp. 131–2, note 14.

Aurea gemma. Gemma regiminis

Boston of Bury listed a work *Aurea gemma* and that title was copied by many old bibliographers. Hauréau, *Notice*, 35, could do nothing with it except to suggest that it is identical with an anonymous work found in Munich, MS 4390 (which contains various works of John of Garland) and which is entitled *Gemma regiminis*. The catalogue of this library tells us that this is a *regimen grammaticale* in prose. Habel thinks the identification of Hauréau is very questionable.

Prepositiones Grece

Hauréau, *Notice*, 85, found this title in Munich, MS lat. 3603, and determined that it was an extract from the *Compendium grammaticæ*. Habel thinks this extract was made after the time of John of Garland by someone who added a prose commentary. It would be well to examine the *Grece derivationes* in Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 8447, fols. 41–48.

Expositiones vocabulorum

Found in Oxford, Bodl. Rowl. C. 496, fol. 14–19, after the *Versus proverbiales*. They are parts of a commentary on words derived from the Greek, such as clericus, diaconus, episcopus. Habel found no proof that they belong to John of Garland. Incipit: Clericus dicitur a grece cleros. See ll. 217–18 of the *Morale scolarium* which make it likely that John of Garland is the author of the work.

*Regule magistri Gerlandi de dialectica*²¹*Notabilia super tertio de anima*

Faral²² found this commentary in Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 16133, fol. 51, attributed to Johannes Anglicus. He reminds us that John of Garland was often thus named in manuscripts. It is more likely, however, that this is a work of Johannes Anglicus, the Franciscan master of theology in Paris, whom we name below as the possible author of the *Dicta super quartum sententiarum*.

Carmen de Pilato

Munich, MS Clm. 237, ascribes this well-known poem to John of Garland, but without any foundation according to Habel.²³

Liber quinque clavium sapientie

In the *Catalogus codicum scriptorum, qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Mellicensis servantur*, Vienna, 1889, this work stands under John of Garland's name but according to Habel the author of the catalogue questions this ascription.²⁴

²¹ See above, p. 97, note 74.

²² E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, 42.

²³ "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX, 119. He cites the printed edition by Mone.

²⁴ *Ibid.* There are three MSS of this work in the University of Prague Library, III, G. 12, fols. 168^a–193^b; III, G. 21, fols. 1–10^a; X, F. 24; and one in the Metropolitan Library of Prague, M. CXXVII, fols. 40^a–55^b. Incipit: "Utilis est rudibus presentis cura libelli."

Dicta super quartum sententiarum

Cassel, MS Theol. 43, 2r-69rb, ascribes to John of Garland a long commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Habel refuses to give a judgment in this matter.²⁵ Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 430, names a Johannes Anglicus, a Franciscan master of theology in Paris, who wrote *Summam Joanninam super magistrum sententiarum*.

Liber metricus

Bernard, *Catalogi*, Oxford, 1697, II, p. 246, no. 8599 [should be 8499]; 777 in *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in aedibus Jacobaeis*, attributes this to Johannes de Garlandia. It is the *Miracula B. Marie Virginis*, now in London, Brit. Mus. Royal MSS 8: C. IV, fols. 16-23v, which lists the work in the table of contents as "Liber metricus Iohannis de Garlandia qui vocatur Stella Maris."

Articuli passionis Christi

Listed in G. Haenel, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, Leipzig, 1830, 720, is attributed to John of Garland in the Library of the Monastery of St. Gall, MS 980.

Super psalmos

Ibid., 82. Besançon, MSS relatifs au belles lettres; Supplément aux MSS 8: Tr. mag. Gerlandi sup. psalmos, 4.

Diversitates metrorum.²⁶*Carmina*

Mr. Livingstone Porter, one of my graduate students who is working in Prague, found, in the Metropolitan Library, Prague (Library of the Archbishop), M. CLIV, fols. 302^b-309^b, *Carmina Joannis de Garlandia*; incipit, "Discere non spernas cum stultos ludere cernas." Mr. Porter found many other MSS of the works of John of Garland in the libraries of Prague. His interesting notes reached me when my page proof was ready for the printer. See above, p. 96, for *Carmina* ascribed to John of Garland by Bale. Also p. 99, note 83.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 120.

²⁶ See above, p. 127, note 34.

3. THE MORALE SCOLARIUM

THE MORALE SCOLARIUM IN LITERARY HISTORY

The first references to the *Morale scholarium* are in the *Commentarius* and in glosses of thirteenth century manuscripts of the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) where the book is ascribed to John of Garland.¹ We know that it formed a part of the medieval library of Dover Priory where it was bound in a manuscript book which contained other works of John of Garland, the *Merarius* and the *De mysteriis ecclesie*.² Boston of Bury, and following him, Bale, referred to the work as *Librum satiricum* and *Satyricum opus* beginning, "Scribo novam tandem satyram."³ Pits was the first to allude to a manuscript of the work, namely, that now in Cambridge, but he introduced confusion by mentioning both a *Morale scholarium* and a *Satyricum opus*, beginning "Scribo novam tandem Satyram."⁴ In 1641 the manuscript which is now in Bruges was first listed.⁵ Bulaeus took slight notice of John of Garland but reported that he wrote the *Morale scholarium* in Paris.⁶ In 1697 another manuscript of the work was noticed in England.⁷ P. Leyser knew it only by title from Bale.⁸ Fabricius, *Bibliotheca* (1734-46), and Tanner, *Bibliotheca* (1748), 310, carried into the eighteenth century the error of Pits and listed both a *Satyricum opus* and a *Morale scholarium*.⁹ Fabricius linked the *Morale scholarium*

¹ The quotation in the *Commentarius* was found by A. De Poorter, in *Revue des bibliothèques* (1926), 128, and reads as follows in Bruges MS 546, fol. 83: "Quid agendum sit ad sanitatem post prandium in *Morale scholarium* continetur: Vix infirmatur post prandia qui spaciatur aut declinatur in sompnum quem moderatur." The last sentence is a quotation of lines 413-14 of the *Morale scholarium*. For the gloss in the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* see above, p. 108, note 21.

² M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903, 490 (no. 411). This manuscript volume contained the following works: Doctrinale magnum cum pluribus, fol. 1 "Informans pueros." *Merarius*, fol. 47b, "Merarii nuper." (T)etrasticon .J. in gresimum, fol. 53, "Hoc excusetur"; *Misteria J. garlandie*, fol. 122, "Anglia quo fulget"; *Glosa super theodolo*, fol. 134, "Auoniam in hoc opere"; *Compotus vel ars calculatoria*, fol. 149, "Licet modo in fine"; *Algorismus metrificatus*, fol. 158, "Hec algorismus ars"; *Oracius in sua poetria*, fol. 163, "Humano capiti"; *Morale scholarium*, fol. 174, "Humiles in sp. . . ."

³ John Bale, *Scriptorum*, Basle, 1559, 158.

⁴ John Pits, *Relationum*, Paris, 1619, 184.

⁵ Antonius Sanderus, Iprensis ecclesiae canonicus, *Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta*, Insulis, 1641, 204.

⁶ *Historia universitatis Parisiensis*, I (1665), 404, under the year 1035, "Ioannes quoque de Garlandia ob eandem causam Lutetiam profectus ad dicendum & docendum, in artis Poëticae professione excelluit, ibique *Morale scholarium* edidit."

⁷ Bernard, *Catalogi*, II, 233, where we read: "Joannis Garlandi *Scholarium morale*, no. 7645, 26, I, Librorum manuscriptorum viri reverendi Roberti Burscough A. M. et Ecclesiae de Totonesio in agro Devon. Rectoris, catalogus." Thus far I have been unable to identify this manuscript with any one of the three now extant in England.

⁸ *Historia poetarum* (1721), 311.

⁹ Tanner's notice from Bulaeus gives the impression that he thought Bulaeus had said that the *Morale scholarium* was printed in Paris.

in the same paragraph with the *Cornutus*. That may have led Dom Rivet into the grave error of surmising that the *Distigium sive Cornutus* is identical with the *Morale scolarium*.¹⁰ Moreri merely broadcast the opinions of Rivet,¹¹ but a century later Le Clerc made matters still worse by saying that if Rivet had examined the texts he would have dispelled all his doubt because the two works are identical.¹²

In 1859 Laude gave a short description of the Bruges manuscript of the *Morale scolarium*, printed several sentences of the prologue, the first eight lines of the poem, and listed the chapter headings.¹³ Scheler went a little farther in 1865 by printing several more sentences of the prologue and by correcting Laude here and there.¹⁴ In 1866 Gatien-Arnoult, without an examination of the manuscripts and without much discrimination between the actual and the supposed works of John of Garland, made an interesting classification of his moral treatises for students.¹⁵

Thus the *Morale scolarium* had come down through the centuries obscurely and ensnared in errors. Laude had pointed out that the *Satyricon opus* and the *Morale scolarium* were one and the same work. In 1879 Hauréau finally demonstrated that the *Distigium* and the *Morale scolarium* are two entirely distinct works.¹⁶ Unfortunately Kingsford, who did not know the work of Scheler and Hauréau, revived many old errors in his article on John of Garland in the *Dictionary of national biography* by listing the *Satyricon opus* as a separate work and by making the *Distigium* identical with the *Morale scolarium*. Gröber said that the

¹⁰ *Histoire littéraire*, VIII (1747), 87. Rivet mentions the *Distigium* as the *Distichon morale* in the *Bibliotheca reginae Sueciae* in Vaticana, MS 1995, which he found listed in Dom Bernardi de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, 2 vols., Paris, 1739, I, 58.

This confusion may have had its rise in the way the *Distigium sive Cornutus* was first printed. J. Grasse, *Trésor de livres*, I, 364, says it was printed in the *Morale scholariorum*, Hagenau, 1489. I have been unable to find this book. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, II, 1488, describing the early editions of the *Distigium*, says: "Les distiques moraux, impr. dans ce livre sous le titre de *Cornutus antiquus*, se trouvent quelquefois dans les manuscrits, soit sous celui de *Distichium*, soit sous celui de *Scholarium morale*."

¹¹ *Le grand dictionnaire historique*, V (1759), 77.

¹² *Histoire littéraire*, XXII (1852), 99-102.

¹³ P. J. Laude, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de Bruges*, Bruges, 1859, 480-82.

¹⁴ Scheler, "Trois traités," *Jahrbuch*, VI (1865), 45-46.

¹⁵ "Jean de Garlande," *Revue de Toulouse*, 1866, 117-37. On page 15 of the reprint of this article he divides these treatises into three classes:

1. Those which contained sentences, often enigmatical in form, which served at once as grammatical and as moral exercises. Such were the "*Scholarium morale, Distichium et Cornutus*." They were, he says, called *Scholarium morale* on account of their moral content; *Distichium* because they were written in distichs; and *Cornutus* because "as animals defend themselves with two horns so the author expresses each sentence in two verses" (quoted from the Hagenau edition of the *Distigium*, 1489). Each distich has a grammatical and a moral sense.

2. Treatises on morals properly so called. Such were the *Facetus* and the *De contemptu mundi*.

3. Those that treated of all aspects of religion such as the *Floretus* and the *Poenitentiarius*.

¹⁶ *Notice*, 13-15. "Le *Distigium* est un livre de classe. . . . Le *Scholarium* est un cours de savoir-vivre à l'usage de la jeunesse autrefois turbulente, mal polie, des écoles de Paris." He goes on to say that Laude "nous fait supposés qu'il contient des renseignements dignes d'être recueillis."

Morale scolarium is not available but he classified it in two places, under "Moralisches Lehrgedicht" and "Jugenderziehung" with such works as Nigellus Wireker, *Speculum stultorum* or *Burnellus*, Hugo of Trimberg, *Registrum multorum auctorum*, the *Facetus* and *Fagifacetus*, and the tract on table manners "Stans puer ad mensam" attributed to Robert Grosseteste.¹⁷ C. H. Haskins was the first scholar to consult the *Morale scolarium* for its content. He examined it for information on the history of student life in the middle ages but found it disappointing.¹⁸ In 1907 Leandro Biadene published two chapters of the *Morale scolarium* from the Bruges manuscript in a study on table manners in the middle ages, and in 1926 A. De Poorter printed another chapter from the same manuscript.¹⁹ Habel copied the first eight lines and several chapter headings from Laude, lines 395-422 from Biadene, and was inclined to agree with Laude and Hauréau that the work deserves further study.²⁰ Recently E. Faral has identified the *Morale scolarium* with the *De rebus ethicis* which Leland, and after him, Bale, Pits, and Fattorini ascribed to Geoffrey of Vinsauf.²¹ Faral's identification is inadmissible.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MORALE SCOLARIUM

There are four manuscripts of the *Morale scolarium* together with an extract of 144 lines, chosen here and there and copied in the fifteenth century. There seems to be no close relationship between these five manuscripts. The closest tie is between B and L.

¹⁷ Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, part I (1902), 379, 383.

¹⁸ "The University of Paris in the sermons of the thirteenth century," *American Historical Review*, X (1904), 2, note 4.

¹⁹ L. Biadene, "Cortesie da tavola di Giovanni di Garlandia," *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIII (1907), 1003-17. His extracts comprise chapter IX, "De curialitatibus in mensa conservandis," lines 163-208, and chapter XVI, "De ministracione decenti," lines 395-422. For the place of these chapters of the *Morale scolarium* in the general history of table manners in the middle ages see Stefan Glixelli, "Les contenance de table," *Romania*, XLVII (1921), 1-40, especially 3. A. De Poorter, *Revue des bibliothèques* (1926), 120-22, printed chapter XIV, "Persuasio ad libros philosophicos," ll. 339-80.

²⁰ Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," *Mitteilungen*, XIX (1909), 31-32.

²¹ *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1924, 22, 42. John Leland (1506?-1552), *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*, I (1709), 232, says, "Incidi aliquando in libellum non inelegantem de *Rebus Ethicis*, qui bonos informaret mores. Extrema ejus pagella sic inscripta fuit: Galfridus Vinesave. Stylus plane Vinosalvum sapiebat." Bale, *Illustrium majoris Britanniae scriptorum summarium* (1557-59), 239, merely mentions the *De rebus ethicis* without giving the first words as he does in the case of other works of Geoffrey de Vinsauf. Pits, *Relationum*, 262, states that the work is found among the MS Cantabrigiae in Collegio S. Benedicti. A search through Bernard, *Catalogi*, in the list of manuscripts of that college, revealed no such work. Fattorini, *De claris archigymnasii Bononiensis*, I, 507, refers to Bernard, *Catalogi*, I, 133, inter Cod. Th. Bodlei, n. 2538, but the *De rebus ethicis* is not found there. Faral reports that Leyser and Fabricius could not make up their minds about the identity of this work and that Thomas Wright thought it was the famous *Florilegus*. Until the *De rebus ethicis* is found it will be impossible to dispute the words of Leland written in the sixteenth century. Unfortunately Faral does not state the train of reasoning which led him to conclude that the *De rebus ethicis* is extant today under the name of *Morale scolarium* in three manuscripts of that work now in Oxford, Cambridge, and Bruges (described below as manuscripts O, C, and B).

B. We shall thus designate the Bruges MS 546, fols. 2–12, 146–147v, 4 folios of which are here reproduced in facsimile. This manuscript came from the Cistercian monastery of Dunes, near Furnes, which was destroyed by the Gueux in 1560 and reestablished in Bruges. Manuscript 546 of the public library of Bruges is a volume of 174 folios of vellum in 4° with its original binding. The titles of chapters are in red ink. It contains many interlinear and marginal glosses. Laude believed it was written in the thirteenth century.²² His judgment has never been questioned by anyone. Fols. 146–147v contain chap. XIII, lines 271–338, of the *Morale scolarium*. Scheler, p. 57, called these 67 lines a *Poème religieux* and added, “Je ne me suis pas senti assez fort pour chercher à pénétrer le sens mystique de cette élucubration cléricale, dans laquelle les deux hémistiches se répondent alternativement par *avit: antem* et par *antem: avit*. Une note marginale me dit qu’il s’agit des sept joies de Notre Dame.” De Poorter, p. 129, likewise declared, “Elle comprend cent trente-quatre vers dont le sens est énigmatique;” but he realized that the piece was a chapter from some work of John of Garland.

C. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 385, pp. 302–316. This manuscript book contains 188–4 folios of vellum written in various hands, mostly good, of the thirteenth century. The volume was donated to the college in the fifteenth century by Roger Marchall who wrote a table of contents on fol. iv.²³ The *Morale scolarium* in this volume is well written partly in one and partly in two columns on each page. There are a good many interlinear words and phrases but the marginal glosses are not so numerous as they are in the Bruges manuscript. There are a few French glosses.

²² P. J. Laude, *Catalogue méthodique, descriptif, et analytique, des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de Bruges*, Bruges, 1859, 480–82. It has been more fully described by A. Scheler, “Trois traités de lexicographie latine,” *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VI (1865), 44–59. A ticket on the inside of the cover reads, “*Morale scolarium Johannis de Garlandia. Dictionarius ejusdem. Clavis compendii ipsius. Quaedam dictamina et multi alii tractatus in grammaticae.*” Fol. 1 is a flyleaf with scribbles and the commencement of the *De nominibus utensilium* of Alexander Neckam; fols. 2–12, *Morale scolarium*; fols. 12–24v, *Dictionarius*; fols. 25–42v, *Clavis compendii magistri Johannis de Garlandia*; fols. 43–52v, *Incipiunt misteria magistri Johannis de Garlandia*; fols. 53v–77, *Incipit ars lectoria ecclesie*; fols. 77v–83v, *Incipit commentarius magistri J. de Garlandia*; fols. 84–88v, *Miracula gloriose virginis*; fols. 89v–145v, *Ars versificatoria*; fols. 146–147v, a *Poème religieux* of 67 lines according to Scheler, but it is ch. XIII of the *Morale scolarium*; fols. 147v–148, *Verba anormalia*; fols. 149–174v, *Parisiana*.

This precious manuscript volume is now more fully described by A. De Poorter, *Revue des bibliothèques* (1926), 119–33.

²³ M. R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Gonville and Caius College*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1907–1908, *Supplement*, 1914, II, 441–46, gives the contents of the volume as follows: p. 7, *Dictionarius Joh. de Garlandia*, “*Sacerdos ad altare accessurus*”; p. 61, *Liber Merarii*; p. 68, *Accentarius M. J. de Garlandia*; p. 141, *Dictionarius alius M. Joh. de Garlandia*; p. 153, *Algorismus* (Alex. de Villa Dei); p. 159, *Compotus ecclesiasticus*; p. 163, Joh. de Garlandia *De mysteriis Ecclesie*; p. 186, *Goliath de coniuge non ducenda*; p. 188 (*De Paride et Helena*); p. 191, (*Apocalypsis Goliae*); p. 199, *Commentarius J. de Garlandia*; p. 211, *Compendium grammatice per eundem*; p. 270, *Clavis compendii per eundem*; p. 302, *Morale scholarium*; p. 317, *Enchiridion M. Galfridi de Vino salvo* (*synonyma Joh. de Garlandia*); p. 338, *De nominibus Christi*; p. 341, An excerpt from some work like the *Dictionarius* of J. de Garlandia; p. 345, *Donatus cum expositione Remigii*; p. 358, *Massa compoti*.

L. Lincoln Cathedral, MS 132 [C. 5. 8.], fols. 1-9, 29-30v. This manuscript book containing several works has 162 folios of vellum. It is dated thirteenth century by Schenkl.²⁴ The first two folios of the *Morale scolarium* are displaced and are found on folios 29-30. The amount of interlinear and marginal glossing is about equal to that of the Cambridge manuscript.

O. Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson G, 96, pp. 154-76. This manuscript book, devoted largely to works of John of Garland, was described by F. Madan, *A summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Oxford, 1895, III, 437 (no. 15567), who, however, did not suspect that any of the works contained in it were written by our author.²⁵ Although Madan does not specifically ascribe this copy of the *Morale scolarium* to the thirteenth century, as he does all the other works in the volume, he probably did not intend to express doubt about its date. It is written in the hand which wrote the preceding work, *De mysteriis ecclesie*, assigned to the thirteenth century. The glosses of the *Morale scolarium* are not so numerous as in the other manuscripts and are written in a very crabbed hand.

P. Paris, Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1544, fols. 100-02.²⁶ Under the title *Proverbia moralia* 144 lines of the *Morale scolarium* are extracted in a fifteenth-century hand without indication of their provenance and without glosses of any

²⁴ H. Schenkl, "Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Britannica," *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, CXXXI (1894), 75, no. 4055, gave the contents of the volume as follows: no. 1 (fols. 1-9; 29-30v) *Morale carmen scolarium*; no. 2 (fol. 10) *Dictionarius* of John of Garland [begins fols 101-108v]; 3 (fols. 11-19v; 31-36v) "Ethiopum terras, etc. = *Ecloga* of Theodulus;" no. 4 (fols. 20-28v) Cato (novus?); no. 5 (fols. 37-64) Alexander Neckam, *De utensilibus*; no. 6 (fols. 66-76v) *De mysteriis ecclesie* of John of Garland; no. 7 (fols. 78-80) Ovidius, *De mirabilibus mundi*; no. 8 (fols. 81-99v) *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) of John of Garland; no. 9 (fol. 109 ff.) Persius; no. 10, *Fabulae* of Avianus; no. 11, *Eclogae* of Maximianus; no. 12 (fols. 134-150v), *Achilleis* of Statius; no. 13 (fols. 151-162v), *Liber Claudiani* (*de raptu Proserpinae*).

I have added the numbers of the folios and have indicated that Schenkl overlooked the first part of the *Dictionarius* on fols. 101-108v. A catalogue of the manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral library is in the press.

²⁵ Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. G. 96, contains the following works: no. 1, pp. 1-91, *Unum omnium* of John of Garland; no. 2, pp. 91-130, *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei; no. 3, p. 132, contains the last 30 lines of the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) of John of Garland; no. 4, pp. 132-54, *De mysteriis ecclesie* of John of Garland; no. 5, pp. 154-76, *Morale scolarium* of John of Garland; no. 6, pp. 177-96, glosses in *De nominibus utensilium* of Alexander Neckam; no. 7, pp. 196-97, notes on the calendar in a later hand; no. 8, pp. 198-99, first two pages of the *Dictionarius* of John of Garland; no. 9, pp. 201-48, *Epistles* of Horace.

²⁶ The Paris manuscript is fully described by B. Hauréau in *Notices, et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, VI (1893), 271-335. The volume of 144 folios is an incomplete *florilegium* of some moralist. It is of unknown provenance and was written in the fifteenth century by one hand. Some of the pieces are to be found printed in T. Wright, *The Latin poems attributed to Walter Mapes*. The folios which contain the extracts from the *Morale scolarium* are described by Hauréau on p. 326. He says they are not proverbs as the title *Proverbia moralia* would indicate but a collection of declamations on various subjects in poor Leonine hexameters. Hauréau did not suspect that John of Garland was the author of the verses, whom he pictures as a poor and mediocre poet, envious of the success and riches of others and unworthy of the interest which he seeks to awaken.

kind.²⁷ The following lines are extracted: 15-18, 21-22, 27-28, 31-32, 57-60, 67-68, 71-72, 83-84, 87-88, 93-94, 97-100, 103-4, 107-11, 121, 158-59, 167-79, 189-90, 193-96, 199-204, 225-26, 229-32, 235-36, 239-41, 243-60, 265-66, 339-40, 345-46, 351-52, 383-89, 393-96, 399-406, 415-18, 425-34, 437-38, 519-20, 619-622, 637-42.

It is not unlikely that other manuscripts of the *Morale scolarium* will be found from time to time. Worcester Cathedral MS Q^o 80 was a very interesting manuscript book which, along with the *De mysteriis ecclesie* of John of Garland, contained a *Chartula moralis*, in all likelihood a copy of the *Morale scolarium*.²⁸ The librarian of Worcester Cathedral Library, Canon Blake, very kindly informed me that the original MS Q^o 80 has been lost for more than a hundred years and that another manuscript volume had been given its number so long ago as 1821. All the manuscripts were carefully gone through about 1849 and again in 1906, and the whole library was moved once or twice in the last hundred years without a trace of the missing volume. It would be well to search for it elsewhere in England. G. Haenel, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, Leipzig, 1830, 463, under Strassburg, printed many items which arouse the curiosity of the student of John of Garland. Among others he listed a *Carmen morale* in a manuscript book which contained the *Cornutus*, *Synonyma*, *Equivoca*, *Floretus*, etc. The German armies burned the library of Strassburg in 1870 as they did that of Louvain in 1914 and our *Carmen morale* went up in flames along with many another more precious manuscript, like the *Hortus deliciarum*. Today Strassburg has none of John of Garland's works except a fragment of the *De mysteriis ecclesie*. Such losses recall the fervent prayer of Richard de Bury: "Almighty Author and Lover of peace, scatter the nations that delight in war, which is above all plagues injurious to books."²⁹ Fire without war is bad enough. The Lincoln manuscript of the *Morale scolarium* barely escaped destruction when it was being photographed for use in this volume. Two days after the work was finished the shop where the manuscript had been kept for reproduction was burned with all its contents.³⁰

²⁷ This manuscript was first revealed by Biadene, *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIII (1907), 1007.

²⁸ Described by Schenkl, *Sitzungsberichte*, Vienna, CXXXIX (1898), 71 (no. 4366). It contained Hymni ecclesiastici, Tractatus grammaticus versu hexametro, Chartula moralis, Joannes de Garlandia de mysteriis ecclesiae, Virgilii eclogae, Persius, parvum Doctrinale. Schenkl, of course, did not see it but got his information from an old catalogue now described by John K. Floyer and Sidney G. Hamilton, *Catalogue of manuscripts preserved in the chapter library of Worcester cathedral*, Oxford, 1906, 174-75.

²⁹ The *Philobiblon* of Richard de Bury, edited and translated by Ernest C. Thomas, London, 1888, 191.

³⁰ For manuscripts of the *Morale scolarium* which were in the library of Dover Priory and in that of Robert Burscough see notes 2 and 7 above.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE *MORALE SCOLARIUM*

There is no doubt about the authorship of the *Morale scolarium*. All external and internal evidence points to John of Garland as the author. Since there is absolutely no contradiction it will not be necessary to assemble the abundant positive proofs found in these pages.

The *Morale scolarium* was written in 1241. The solid base which enables us to fix this date is the mention, in lines 311 to 318, and again in lines 347 to 350, of Odo, the chancellor of the cathedral of Paris. Odo de Castro Radulfi (Château-roux) was chancellor from 1238 to 1244, dates which furnish us secure preliminary *termini a quo* and *ad quem*.³¹ Lines 275 to 284 give us an interesting picture of king Louis IX of France exhibiting the crown of thorns and a piece of the cross to the people of Paris. This took place in 1241. John of Garland describes the scene as if he had been an eyewitness of an event which had taken place shortly before he wrote. In line 511 he writes that this is a time of high prices and of profiteering which oppress the poor. We have authentic contemporary evidence from the Abbey of St. Denis near Paris that the year 1241 was one of unusual drought from the Sunday after Christmas until September.³² In such a year it was quite natural for John of Garland to refer to the seven lean years in Egypt as he does in line 517. In lines 336 to 338 he appeals to the Virgin to conclude the unstable peace between the pope and the emperor which was violated by deceit and inveighs against the anti-papal party in Rome, as he does in lines 143 to 144 and 471 to 474. These words may well refer to the unsuccessful attempts in 1240 on the part of German nobles to start negotiations for peace, and the reference to deceit may apply to the capture of the pope's general council May 4, 1241, when Frederick II overcame the Genoese fleet near Meloria and imprisoned about one hundred foreign prelates. From the messenger who brought him news from Rome (l. 467) John of Garland may have heard of the frequent street fights in Rome during the year 1241 incited by the Orsini under the leadership of John Colonna, who was in touch with Frederick II at Grottaferrata. Hence the repeated reference to a Roman anti-papal party. Everything points to Gregory IX as the pope mentioned in the *Morale scolarium*. In the Oxford manuscript a gloss on line 338 refers to Honorius. Since pope Honorius III died in 1227 the glossator must have written Honorius for

³¹ For details about Odo see note on line 315 of the paraphrase of the *Morale scolarium* below. In the same place see additional information on other proper names and on events referred to by line in this demonstration of the date of our poem.

³² "1241. Hoc anno fuit siccitas magna a dominica post Natale Domini usque ad exaltationem Sancte Crucis mense septembri; eodem die ceperunt pluvie; et eodem anno fuerunt omnia vina tam fortia quod non poterant bibi commode sine aqua; et multi in anno illo paciebantur malum maximum in oculis eorum."—E. Berger, "Annales de Saint-Denis: généralement connues sous le titre de *Chronicon Sancti Dionysii ad cyclos paschales*," in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes*, XL (1879), 291.

Gregorius. If our train of reasoning is sound the *Morale scolarium* must have been finished in 1241 before the news reached Paris of the death of pope Gregory IX, which occurred August 22 of that year, followed by the short pontificate of Celestine IV (October 25 to November 10, 1241) and the interregnum which lasted until Innocent IV was elected on June 25, 1243.

Critics may feel that the dating of the *Morale scolarium* in the year 1241 rests too heavily on data drawn from chapter XIII, which is not found in the Bruges manuscript of the poem. Apart from the presence of this chapter in the other three manuscripts there is evidence in Bruges MS 546 itself, which indicates that chapter XIII forms an integral part of the *Morale scolarium* as written in 1241. At the head of this chapter as found in Bruges MS 546, fol. 146, is written: "Materia huius capituli est penitentia," which indicates that it is merely a section of some work. That it belongs to the *Morale scolarium* after line 270 is indicated in Bruges MS 546, fol. 6v itself where a gloss on line 325 of the omitted chapter, "animamque deus logicantem," is found at the head of the long paragraph in the left margin.

All the other chronological data in the poem harmonize with the date 1241. The praise of Fulk Bassett in lines 89-90 was probably written before he became bishop of London. Elected to this high office against the will of the king toward Christmas of 1241, his election was not confirmed until December 16, 1243, and he was not consecrated until October 9, 1244. Although a gloss in the Oxford manuscript explains "Fulconis basis, episcopi Londoniensis," it is significant that the glossator of the Bruges manuscript calls him "magister," and says nothing of his elevation to a bishopric in the longer note in the left margin. At first sight the words "cui templa paravit" in line 276 seem to refer to the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris, which was begun in 1242 and consecrated in 1248, but neither the text nor the glosses demand this interpretation. The queen mother, Blanche, mentioned in line 281, lived until 1252; and Margaret, the queen (l. 283), married to Louis IX in 1234, was only twenty years old in 1241. Guillaume d'Auvergne, mentioned as bishop of Paris in line 309, held that office from 1228 to 1248. The town and gown riot in Orleans, touched on in line 343, took place in 1236. John of Garland would not have appealed to emperor Frederick II to lead a crusade (ll. 497 ff.) after 1245 when he was deposed by the Council of Lyons. John Blund, praised in chapter XXXIV as chancellor of York, held this office until he died in 1248.

To this must be added the fact that the *Morale scolarium* is quoted in the *Commentarius*, written in 1246.³³ In view of all this evidence it is certain that lines 60-61 of the *De mysteriis ecclesie*, written in 1245, were copied from lines 549-50 of the *Morale scolarium*.³⁴

³³ See above, p. 146.

³⁴ See above, p. 111.

A PARAPHRASE OF THE MORALE SCOLARIUM OF JOHN OF GARLAND*

MORALITY OF STUDENTS

PROLOGUE IN PROSE

Just as the humble broom plants as well as roses have medicinal flowerets, so the writings of pagan authors are of value to the church although not in the same proportion as the salubrious rhetoric of Saint Augustine. When the fables of the poets are contrasted allegorically with true doctrine the manifest truth is accepted more cheerfully. This little work is not written in an ornate style, but, in order that it may not seem contemptible, it has been composed in Leonine hexameters for God does not forbid the use of literary art to glorify his name. Thus he has provided both philosophers and prophets, the former to endow the church with the beauties of the Latin language, the latter to witness the truth. In this satirical treatise morality is contrasted with faults, urbanity with rusticity; the mysteries of theology are touched upon here and there; the causes of certain natural phenomena are elucidated so that the crudity of scholastic life may be eliminated.

HERE BEGINS THE MORALITY OF STUDENTS

- 1 I am writing a new form of satire, not to arouse anger by malicious attacks on individuals but to make general criticisms. May you take kindly to this moral poem, O student, for your own benefit. If you find in it difficult words and expressions esteem them highly, for ignorance is weakness and knowledge kept to oneself is of no avail.

CHAPTER I

A PLEA FOR MORALITY AND THE LIBERAL ARTS

- 10 In the Old Testament we read that for the table of shewbread a golden crown was skilfully wrought. This signifies that we should cultivate eloquence, an active mind, chastity, fear of God, prudence, and virtues of every kind. The table of shewbread ornamented with gold stands for the man who is crowned king because he is eminent in word and deed. But today rusticity is mingled with learning in active and in contemplative life.

* In this paraphrase the glosses have been drawn upon freely for an interpretation of the text which is so often enigmatical.

The notes on the paraphrase are given the number of the line to which they refer.

The muses are silent, confounded, repelled, as if numbed by the sight of Medusa. But why, you ask? If you are a real scholar you are thrust out in the cold. Unless you are a money-maker, I say, you will be considered a
 20 fool, a pauper. The lucrative arts, such as law and medicine,²² are now in vogue, and only those things are pursued which have a cash value.

CHAPTER II

A PLEA FOR URBANITY AND RELIGION

Let staves be fitted for the rings of the ark of the covenant. Let good books be produced and worthy poems be read. Let the wise man pursue the liberal arts unswervingly, for these are all good in themselves; it is only the abuse of them which is reprehensible.²³ Lest theology be entirely deprived of her handmaidens, namely, the seven liberal arts, let them be revived; let
 30 aid be given them in their decline. Words which the ancient classical poets condemned, and which passed out of good usage, now have come forth again. Those are once more respectable which were considered improper. A few years ago was published the *Mirabilia* of John of Garland;³³ in it a defensive armor has been set athwart critics who are like tyrants eager for wars. Sarah, the church, is troubled by Hagar; she grieves and weeps, but the good God is armed to wreak his vengeance. Thus you will perhaps say that all masters of the liberal arts are injuring the church and should be thrust out, but I maintain that only some of them are at fault. Extract the roots which are the source of mortal sin. As is fitting, I shall not touch upon such necessities as the elimination of waste products of the body; but be careful to
 40 keep yourself clean. Wipe your nose carefully, control your gaze, suppress your cough, hide your sputum, keep good company, do not eat too much, do not act childishly. In disputations, according to accepted practice, avoid the negative and argue affirmatively;⁴⁵ if you are wise you will do this and achieve victory, as is testified by Aristotle, who demonstrates primordial matter and who sharpens the wits of boys to become champion debaters. To defend
 50 yourself in your pursuit of truth, it behooves you to profess the fundamental position that Christ is the truth.

²² The question of the study of civil law in Paris after 1219 A.D. is discussed in note 107 below.

The little we know about medieval medicine in Paris is touched upon in the notes on the *Battle of the seven arts*, ed. L. J. Paetow, 1914, 45, note 99. See also C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the history of mediaeval science*, Cambridge, 1924, 368-69.

²³ The opposition to the Latin classics by moralists who feared that they led to the writing of scurrilous verses is described in the *Battle of the seven arts*, 28-29.

³³ The *Mirabilia* may be *Miracula B. Marie Virginis*, which see above. More likely, however, it is a hitherto unknown work of our author.

⁴⁵ In lines 205-6 there is additional advice to students about disputations, which were so popular in medieval universities.

CHAPTER III

CONCERNING PATIENCE AND THE CROWN OF THE PREACHING FRIARS AND
THE MINORITE BROTHERS

O you doctors of theology, you Preaching Friars, and you Minorite Brothers,⁶¹ laborers of Christ and preëminent in ascetic life! I am a cynic toward the evildoers but I am your friend. If I am truthful, the wicked turns up his nose at me. Fraught with the weight of the cross is the rule of Saint Francis. Intent on heaven you seek neither riches nor pleasures. Instead of violets and roses, you have spines and thorns. Although you
60 weep you have the joy of hope, and for your sufferings you will reap eternal reward.

CHAPTER IV

CONCERNING THE FALSE GENEROSITY OF RELATIVES AND CONCERNING
PRELATES WHO GIVE TO THEIR KIN AND CONCERNING THE CAUSES
OF GIVING

A rich man, mild and generous, a cheerful host, is sure of heaven and is well favored by the maker of the skies. Such men deserve to shine like sapphires in heaven, remarkable for their good works, worthy to enjoy all good things in earth and heaven. You, Natalis, are thus by birth.⁶⁵ You are guided by moral and natural law. A popular proverb in the vulgar tongue proclaims that a priest who is worthy to administer the sacraments is a rare bird. Let Aaron carry the vessel of oil, and the vessel of Elisha,
70 salt. Men of Galilee, be true priests, carry the real thing and not the semblance of it. The host of bishops looks with favor upon their kin. It does not recognize you, O poor scholar, born under an evil star. Christian faith does not admit astrology, but, granted that you were born under an unlucky star, its baleful influence can be thwarted by reason. The lords of the church give to others, perchance they will give to me, you say. They send as presents many cloaks and triple-twilled tunics. Behold the various reasons for such gifts: this bishop gives what the evil prostitute Herse demands, some give in the hope of receiving greater gifts in return, others
80 give merely to return favors, still others seek to defend themselves by gifts.⁸⁰ Giving is a shield of defense against the wicked of the world. By gifts you can buy your way to high office and to popularity.

⁶¹ For the coming of the Franciscans to Paris see especially H. Felder, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden*, Freiburg, 1904; for the Dominicans, H. Denifle, "Das erste Studienhaus der Benediktiner an der Universität Paris," *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, I (1885), 570-83.

⁶⁵ Natalis, the "official" of Paris praised by John of Garland in 1241, is not mentioned in Paul Fournier, *Les officialités au moyen âge*, Paris, 1880, nor by Noël Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, Paris, 1880. It is not likely that this man is identical with Herveus Natalis mentioned in line 649.

⁸⁰ Aegides was Theseus, son of the Athenian king Aegeus.

CHAPTER V

IN PRAISE OF NOBLE GIVERS AND ON THE CAUSES OF GIVING

There are some nobles, experienced in the art of giving to the worthy. They are truly cultured, endowed with the four cardinal virtues. In giving you should observe the nature of the gift, the person, the quality, the quantity, the season. Accept gifts thankfully; give without delay. Fulk Bassett,⁸⁹ whose golden glory is worthy to be sung in the sublime verses of great Vergil, knows how to give, as does Robert of Bonewelle,⁹¹ expert in civil and canon law. Giving forestalls theft; it opens doors to the giver and makes friends.

CHAPTER VI

CONCERNING WORLDLY MALICE WHICH IS OVERCOME BY GIFTS AND BY PATIENCE

A good man bemoans the fact that his strength is reduced by evils as was Israel by the Amalekites and Ninevites. When you travel abroad, talk quietly lest you be beaten up for your loud behavior. Do not disturb the stray dogs in town, nor the children who do not molest you in their play. It is dangerous to travel all alone. Remember to give way to your elders, often even if they are below you in station. The worldling is like the hundred-handed Briareus, like Janus; he is a thief, a boaster, a perjurer. Laymen, who pervert law, nevertheless teach it and grow so rich that they can buy splendid country estates.¹⁰⁷ The poor man is ground down, despised, and beaten. As in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, men seem to be transformed into wild beasts. Uncouth monsters, like Medusa, say to you, give us what you

⁸⁹ Fulk Bassett, dean of York, was elected bishop of London toward Christmas, 1241, according to Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, IV, 171. His election was not confirmed until December 16, 1243, and he was not consecrated until October 9, 1244. This delay was due to the opposition of the king, which led to some stormy scenes between this militant bishop of London and Henry III. Fulk Bassett is also mentioned by John of Garland in the *De mysteriis ecclesie* and in the *Exempla honesta vite*, from which we know that he was a master in Paris before he became bishop. He died in 1259.

In this chapter John of Garland seems to indicate that Fulk Bassett and Robert de Bonewelle were his patrons from whom he had received gifts.

⁹¹ Robertus de Bonewelle is not otherwise known as an expert in civil and canon law at the University of Paris. He could scarcely be identical with Robertus de Bondevilla, a master of Paris who was a student in theology in 1279.—*Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, I, 574.

¹⁰⁷ This interesting reference in 1241 to laymen who taught civil law in Paris supports the thesis of G. Péries, *La faculté de droit, dans l'ancienne université de Paris (1160-1793)*, Paris, 1890, 99-108, that civil law continued to be taught in Paris after the formal prohibition issued by pope Honotius III in 1219. Line 22 of the *Morale scolarium* in all probability refers to civil law. The *Battle of the seven arts*, line 65, also clearly mentions civil law in Paris, for which see L. J. Paetow, *The battle of the seven arts*, 23. In the face of this evidence the position of H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the middle ages*, I, 323, who believed that the prohibition of the pope was effective, is no longer tenable.

have or we will petrify you. With unbridled fury the imperial power shakes the papacy.¹¹⁵ Wars become fiercer and frightened hearts are turned into stone. Plots increase, foreigners have reason to be frightened. May you desire to adapt yourself to these conditions, to obey the laws of the country
 120 in which you dwell, and thus live. The worldly turn everything into stone unless you give to them. Achilles and Agamemnon fall before these monsters. Of course, I am exaggerating, but to place the whole for a part is permissible in grammatical art, especially since this is a satire. Outstanding piety, if any there still be, has no room in this iron age. The men of the world alter the laws to suit their vile ends, they disobey the decrees of the pope, they suppress the liberal arts to which even walled cities make obeisance. Give
 130 quickly, whatever you have, if you would retard death. Fortunate you will be if you escape with your life. They eject duly elected ecclesiastics from their seats and recall the rejected candidates, demoting the worthy and exalting the worthless. You who are successful in life, have a care what you do in your good fortune, cut away vices. Nobody can denounce the pope if he hopes for salvation, for, if duly requested, the pope asks the advice of holy men like the cardinals, as I am told by couriers from Rome. Therefore, beware to take up arms against Rome. Ajax represents the warrior, Vergil
 140 the lover of peace, the priest is the preacher, the cultivator is mindful of the fields. Thus teach ethics, political science, economics, and monasticism.

CHAPTER VII

PRAISE OF ROME IN BEHALF OF THOSE WHO OBEY THE LAWS OF THE CITY

I praise Rome but I criticize one party in it; I defend the lilies but I denounce the thorns.¹⁴³ Under the aegis of the lion and the eagle the city proudly raises its head.¹⁴⁵ It is like the starry heaven inhabited by the highest clergy and stretching its dominion over all the earth. There are some who despise the papacy and the holy senate; in like manner there are
 150 some who are inclined to rob their neighbors and burn their houses.

¹¹⁵ The nature of the conflict between the emperor Frederick II and pope Gregory IX in 1241 is stated briefly in the section above devoted to the authorship and date of the *Morale scolarium*. See also lines 336 and 472.

¹⁴³ See the same section for the activities of the anti-papal party in Rome led by John Colonna in 1241.

¹⁴⁵ *Forma leonina* seems to be a reference to the Leonine City, the portion of Rome west of the Tiber, including the Vatican, which was first enclosed with walls by pope Leo IV (847-55) as a protection against Mohammedan raids. *Virtus aquilina* refers to the eagle in the imperial crest. The interpretation of *tres pares aquilas* in the glosses we must leave to specialists in heraldry.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMENDATION OF ROME BY MEANS OF AN INTERPRETATION OF ITS NAME
AND THE PRAISE OF SAINT PETER

Savage town, may you grow tame so that you may grow greater in all works of peace, that you may allay war and become tranquil with love of peace. Let the letter *a* be prefixed to Rome, and then you have the aroma of good manners; O Rome, do what is demanded when, by scansion of the above line, the word *aroma* is divided thus, a-[r]-oma, namely, flee from the stench of crime. Rejoice in him who gives you honor, victorious Peter, the doorkeeper of heaven, the vanquisher of Simon Magus. He promised Peter more wealth than could be furnished by the walls of Pagan,¹⁵⁷ by all the sands of the Tagus, by all the gems of the Red Sea, and by the realms of Lagus.¹⁵⁸ The benefices of the church are given to the sons of adulterous Aegisthus,¹⁵⁹ namely, to the sons of prelates. O prelate, you have given
 160 nothing to me, who am poor, although we were associates in the schools. Of course, you should not give me an ecclesiastical benefice unless by testimony you should find me deserving, but if you should make such an inquiry you would open your right hand and make this gift.

CHAPTER IX

CONCERNING TABLE MANNERS

I stop lashing vices and turn attention to courtliness which I now defend.¹⁶³ It is rusticity which I criticize. Since I do not give formal dinners I merely transmit this information to the nobles, serving in the

¹⁵⁷ In all probability *Pagus* stands for Pagan, which was the capital of the kingdom of Pagan in Burma, 1044–1287. In 1287 the Chinese burned Pagan, but in 1343 a local chronicler still referred to the kingdom as “the fairest and dearest of all lands” and spoke of its wealth, its fabulous revenues, and many other attractions which made it “a land more to be desired than fairy land.” See G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, London and New York, 1925, 79, *passim*; also the index of H. Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, New York, 1903. I owe these references to one of my graduate students, Mr. Livingstone Porter.

How did John of Garland in Paris get this information about Pagan so early as 1241? Philologists will no doubt be interested in the glosses which connect Pagan with the word *paganus*.

¹⁵⁸ Reference to the golden sands of the river Tagus in Spain was a classical commonplace.

Lagus was the father of Ptolemy I, king of Egypt.

¹⁵⁹ Aegisthus was the son of Thyestes. He murdered Agamemnon, with whose wife he lived in incest.

^{163–208, 395–422} This treatise on table manners in the *Morale scolarium* has been published and studied by Leandro Biadene, “Cortesie da tavola di Giovanni di Garlandia,” *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIII (1907), 1003–17. It has been compared with similar medieval treatises by S. Glixelli, “Les contenances de table,” *Romania*, XLVII (1921), 1–40. These sources should now be compared with a similar treatment of the subject by John of Garland in his *Epithalamium* of which some titles in the Brit. Mus. Bibl. Cotton. MS Claudius A. x, fol. 46v–47v read: “De ministracione cene mistice, De speciebus in mensa, De reliquiis post prandium, De puella que citharizat post prandium que vocatur letitia.”

capacity of a whetstone, which, as Horace says, sharpens but does not cut, or in that of a dirty servant who hands water to his lords. When you give a banquet, clean all the vessels. Whatever you give, you will spoil unless you enhance the gift with a cheerful countenance. Set out knives polished
 170 with salt, suitable bread, shining goblets, and pleasing drinks. See that all the spoons are clean. Let the guests be arranged two and two. Do not crowd forward to such a degree that you may be pushed back; on the other hand, never stand so far behind that you put off all honor. Let the servant give the biggest and best morsels to the distinguished guests. Tell him to praise the lesser pieces when he gives them to the rank and file which sits below. Do not drink with your mouth full, and do not slobber over your cup. You are a rustic if you lick and nibble at your French toast. Wipe your carving knife clean with bread; seek a tender piece of meat, but cut it
 180 crosswise; then put it on the plate. Cut it up into small pieces for a little girl. The young mistress of the house should sit in a cushioned chair. After the repast she should rise to enter her chamber, which has been decked out beautifully for the guests. Fill her goblet of wine if she asks for it. When ill I sip only a little wine since I have taken it weak, and I satisfy myself with a pig's foot if I find one on the table. You will be considered crude if you do not invite your guests in the morning. This rule holds for the clergy. See that the cloth is clean and that there is no dust on the back of your
 190 benches. Do not let the conversation become unseemly; suggest good topics. At a marriage feast Christ himself enjoys a jest; imitate him, but do not allow merriment to become vulgar. Wash your hands after the dinner; serve more wine, but first ask a blessing soberly. After you have had enough to eat do not forget the poor; distribute the leavings and thus reap eternal rewards, for the remains of a feast belong to the poor. An attentive and a
 200 cheerful host pleases his guests. Express your greetings before you are greeted; come right out with them without hesitation. Provide for your family without grumbling. Give your guests an armed guard in perilous places. In disputations listen attentively, replying briefly to objections; conceal your own ignorance but exhibit the ignorance of your opponent by trimming him down as if you were hazing a yellow-bill student. Promise gifts to those who have quietly listened to your determination.²⁰⁶ I refuse to postpone my duties on account of frost, or heat, or mud, and I do not miss engagements on account of my torn clothes.

²⁰⁶ *Hirsutos tonde*. This veiled reference to hazing in the University of Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century has been discussed above in the description of the *Distigium sive Cornutus* where reference has been made to H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the middle ages*, II, 628-36. The well-known fifteenth-century description of such a "deposition" is now translated in the *Manuale scholarium*, by Robert F. Seybolt, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1921, 24-33; see also 9-11.

The phrase *placidis clenodia sponde* makes it seem likely that the disputation described in lines 205-6 is the determination for the baccalaureate, after which the determiner gave a feast or presents

CHAPTER X

REFLECTIONS OF A STUDENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE OPINION OF SENECA
AND CONCERNING THE SCHOLASTIC LIFE

He who triumphs over poverty is a recruit of probity, a soldier of honesty,
 210 a captain of peace, a man of piety. Utter your complaint saying: I am
 upright and hate the wicked, but I am mean, poor, and oppressed. If I did
 not fear thieves and wars, I should go to Rome and demand justice for
 students, were I good for anything. I am not of noble blood nor am I
 related to a high ecclesiastic,²¹⁵ but as a spiritual heir I lay claim to ecclesi-
 astical benefices.²¹⁶ If, perchance, you are doubtful, you should know that
cleros in Greek mean lot, or heir; hence you will derive *clerum*, the clergy,
 and hence I request the emoluments of my station in life. Nobility of
 character shines forth in high places of honor. Grace of mind ennobles those
 220 who were born rustics. If you think I feel vexed merely because I am poor,
 I appeal to God whether my complaints are groundless, for in the church the
 dread fury Aello reigns, who lives by war, violence, plunder, pestilence, and
 carnage. For a long time, Clio²²³ my muse, has been growing old in the
 University of Paris, she whom Enio,²²⁴ goddess of poverty and war, threatens
 with destruction. I write verses, but am never praised because I am a
 poor man.²²⁵ But even if I am not esteemed, nevertheless my heart is
 sublime. Lean and hungry I overwork myself by heaping up verses instead
 of gold. With one poor servant and with meager fare I console myself.
 May I not suffer shameful need, may I have the necessities of old age, a
 230 bed of my own, and clothes on my back. Like a spider building his web, I
 use myself up spinning endless verses. Otherwise, however, I am fortunate,
 for, although I live in straitened circumstances, I am free from the cares of
 wealth and from secular anxieties. God hardens us, he takes care to lead
 us through hardships; but while he weighs down upon us, he purifies us to
 enjoy his kingdom.

to those who had attended his forensic efforts. See Rashdall, I, 443-47 for a description of deter-
 minations from documents which are more recent than the *Morale scolarium*. Rashdall gives the
 erroneous impression that the determinations, which lasted throughout Lent, were finished in a
 single day. In all probability the *seniores* mentioned in line 647 were bachelors who had finished
 their determinations. The word 'bachelor' may not have been in current use so early as 1241
 although pope Gregory IX wrote about bachelors in a letter written April 13, 1231.—*Chartularium*
universitatis Parisiensis, I, 137.

²¹⁵ This line indicates that John of Garland was not of high lineage.

²¹⁶ Petitioning to Rome for ecclesiastical benefices became a systematic practice in universities.
 A roll of graduates, called a *Rotulus beneficiandorum*, was sent to the pope annually in the fourteenth
 century.—Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 532-35. See also lines 483 ff. of the *Morale scolarium*.

²²³ Evidently John of Garland invoked Clio as a muse of literature in general, and not specifically
 as a muse of history.

²²⁴ There is no trace in classical Latin that Enyo, the sister of Mars, was a goddess of poverty
 as well as of the horrors of war. The Romans identified her with Bellona.

²²⁵ For another picture of the miseries of the teacher in the thirteenth century see the *Laborintus*
 of Evard l'Allemand, lines 835 ff., ed. by E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, 366.

CHAPTER XI

ON THE FORTUNATE LIFE OF SOME ECCLESIASTICS

While I thus alternate good and bad as I commit my satires to quartos, I gather the flowers of courtliness and reject the rude darnel. The priests sing and rejoice, whose voices, but not the heart, announce the truth, whereas
 240 learned men weep, men who are the consorts of Homer,²⁴⁰ although treated like camp followers. These must walk on foot, but such priests ride high on palfreys and often have unlawful intercourse with women. Blessed is he, I say, who is not surrounded with vanities for he is blackened by few venial sins.

CHAPTER XII

IN PRAISE OF THE MODEST LIFE OF SCHOLARS

Jesus Christ, blessed son of holy Mary, guide and companion of life, excellent judge, avenger of Uriah, come to the assistance of poor scholars, you who have pity on the poor, who suffer the strong to fall ill and who heal the sick. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, penetrating into our inmost thoughts,
 250 govern us. Son of Mary, light of the sea, O Christ, with supernal power, take away from us the persecutions of the world, visit the humble lodgings of harried students, the firstborn of Egypt, thou who dost shine in the glory of the clergy.²⁵³ The poor scholar is overcome by study, not deprived of virtue; moreover, the rich man, who does not study and who lives in his high houses, gives poor scholars the heehaws and even blows. I eat sparingly in my little room, not high up in a castle; I have no silver money, nor do the Fates give me estates. Beets, beans, and peas are here looked upon as fine
 260 dishes, and we joke about meat which is not on our menu for a very good reason. The size of the bottle of wine on the table depends on the burse which is never large,²⁶¹ and which is the weekly statement of expenditure

²⁴⁰ This reference to Homer probably has no bearing upon John of Garland's knowledge of Greek. In all likelihood he knew only the Latin Homer current in the middle ages, as did Henri d'Andeli in the *Battle of the seven arts*, line 9, ed. L. J. Paetow, 38.

²⁵³⁻²⁶² The most famous picture of the miseries of the poor scholar in the twelfth century is in the *Architrenius* (ca. 1184) of Jean de Hauteville, who, according to E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, 34, should be called Jean de Hanville. This poem is edited by T. Wright in *Anglo-Latin satirical poets and epigrammatists of the twelfth century* (Rolls series, 2 vols., 1872), I, 240-392.

²⁶¹ The mention of the word *bursa* in the gloss of *B*, which explains this line, is very interesting. In the fourteenth century we often meet with the term *bursa* in university documents. It was a student's sworn statement of his weekly expenses exclusive of his lodging and the wages of his servant, if he had one. In the manuscript history of the University of Paris by Richer, *Bibl. nat. cod. lat. 9943-48*, Charles Jourdain, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France*, I (1874), 170-71, found that this word and its scholastic meaning came from a practice at the

made on oath. Intellectual virtue becomes potent only when it is followed by active or customary virtue which deserves reward because it leads to good works. This scholastic life is the highest form of life; it gives boys such a cleansing of mind and of body that these erstwhile dummies can explain the causes of eclipses of sun and moon, what keeps the sea within bounds, by what force the earth is rent asunder in earthquakes, whence come hail,
 270 snow, rain, and lightning, and what makes the days long in summer and short in winter.²⁶⁷

CHAPTER XIII

PERSUASION, BY MEANS OF THE EXAMPLE OF GREAT MEN, TO A LIFE OF PENITENCE, WHICH IS PREFIGURED BY THE HOLY CROSS THAT PRECEDES THE CROWN OF EVERLASTING GLORY; SINCE ALL THINGS WHICH GOD MADE, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE ROUND, ARE LINKED UP WITH THE CROSS, AS IS SHOWN AT THE CLOSE OF THIS CHAPTER

The cross has christcrossed my muse thus changing my measures. The form of these measures has celebrated the king, triumphing in the cross.²⁷² The holy cross has enriched the king who is restraining evil; whom the law of justice has commended for condemning lawbreakers. The righteous king has incrustated with gold Christ's radiant crown of thorns, the crown holding out eternal life,²⁷⁵ for which he has prepared shrines in Paris.²⁷⁶

Sorbonne where on Fridays each student was obliged to pay a certain sum to the treasurer of the college for his weekly board. The first mention of a bourse in the College of Sorbonne comes in the year 1264 (*Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, I, 443; see also II, 674 (4), note 4, and *Auctarium*, I, xlv).

The gloss in our Bruges manuscript shows that this academic custom and word grew out of the weekly sworn statement of expenses which a provost was obliged to make each Friday.

²⁶⁷⁻²⁷⁰ We have seen that John of Garland touched on these natural phenomena in the *De triumphis ecclesiae* (ed. Wright, pp. 53-54). He reverted to the same theme in the *Epithalamium*, Brit. Mus. Bibl. Cotton, MS Claudius A. x, fol. 59v., where the chapter headings read: "De hac valle miserie et naturali resolutione et causa eius, De causa fulminis, De aqua et causa pluvie, De causa grandinis et nivis, Quomodo humor attrahitur ad nubes et de causa terre motus, De causa venti."

²⁷²⁻²⁷⁴ The tone of these lines indicates that they were written before the end of the year 1244 when Louis IX actually took the cross in the midst of a dreadful illness. See Elie Berger, *Saint Louis et Innocent IV*, Paris, 1893, 36-39.

²⁷⁵⁻²⁸⁴ The famous relic prized by Louis IX of France, the crown of thorns, arrived in Paris from Constantinople via Venice, August 11, 1239, and with solemn ceremony was taken first to Notre Dame and then to the chapel of St. Nicolas in the palace of the king. In 1241, Baldwin II, emperor of Constantinople, who had parted with this relic on account of his financial straits, again raised money by sending a piece of the cross of Christ to Louis IX and the queen mother Blanche. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, IV, 90-92, described the scene on Good Friday, March 29, 1241, when Louis IX, together with his mother Blanche, his wife Margaret, and his brothers, showed both the crown and the cross to his people in Paris. There has been some question about the precise day of the year 1241 when this took place.

Christ has honored king Louis of France, who with head inclined, carried the cross and the crown of thorns which he worshiped on bended knee. Weeping and sad, the Latin empire of Constantinople deprived itself of the treasure
 280 which the king appropriated. The queen mother Blanche purified herself by confession, fasting, and prayer, and in council gave advice to her son in regard to these relics.²⁸¹ Margaret, the queen, who in the flower of her youth had been married to the young king, beamed on her lord with fear and love.²⁸⁴

This royal family has triumphed everywhere, rising over other kings; it has elevated itself to highest glory and has spread its dominion east, west, south, and north. The duke of Normandy transplanted this royal house to England, where it grew by creating other lords of the earth.²⁸⁹ But the
 290 fame of these princes has spread so far and wide that it is unnecessary for me to give all the details.

My christcross muse has changed its subject to celebrate you, O bishop of Paris.²⁹⁴ The cross has singled you out to give to the people the episcopal blessing and to consecrate holy places. It has cleansed you in baptism, has overcome the devil, who raised up enemies against you, has exalted you

In all probability John of Garland witnessed this scene which he described in lines 275-84 of our poem. His description of queen Margaret, who "beamed on her lord with fear and love" (she was only twenty years old, having been married to Louis IX in 1234) has the vividness of the account of an eyewitness. It is highly probable that this striking event suggested to John of Garland the crisscross Leonine hexameters of chapter XIII, which may have been the nucleus of the *Morale scolarium* written in the summer or autumn of the year 1241.

See Elie Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castille, reine de France*, Paris, 1895, 334-38, who gives references to the sources.

²⁷⁶ The crown and the cross, together with other relics of the passion of Christ, like the sacred lance and the sponge acquired in 1242, were eventually placed in the beautiful Sainte Chapelle. The words "cui templa paravit" may at first sight be taken as a reference to this edifice which consists of a lower and upper church. It is more probable, however, that the phrase describes the elaborate decorations of the churches and chapels in which the relics were placed successively. It may even have to do with the costly reliquaries in which they were safeguarded. The Sainte Chapelle was not begun until 1242 and was consecrated in 1248. See Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Louis*, II (1847), 412-17.

²⁸¹ Other contemporary documents tell us how not only Blanche, but the whole royal family, had prepared for this ceremony by confessions, fasting, and prayers, and what a very active part the queen-mother took in all matters pertaining to the relics.

²⁸⁴ The gloss, "existens quia sanctus," seems to indicate that the glosses of the Cambridge manuscript were written after king Louis IX had been sanctified.

²⁸⁹ In his praise of the royal Capetian house of France John of Garland reveals himself as the finished diplomat who had learned how to live happily in Paris although an Englishman by birth. The conquest of England by the Duke of Normandy and the consequent creation of the Norman empire he interpreted as merely an extension of the dominion of the Capetians. Perhaps it would be best to follow the glosses and to print Neustria=Normandy, instead of either Anglia or Gallia demanded by our texts. Cp. *Johannis de Garlandia, De triumphis ecclesiae*, ed. T. Wright, p. 23, ll. 29 ff.

²⁹⁴⁻³¹⁰ Guillaume d'Auvergne was bishop of Paris from 1228 to March 30, 1248. John of Garland's figurative words all tally with what we learn about this important churchman in the excellent biography by Noël Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, Paris, 1880.

300 walking in the path of humility. It has placed you in the chair of theology in Notre Dame de Paris, and has blessed you in your episcopal reforms. The holy cross of Christ has celebrated you through my verses dedicated to you. Why? Because it has supported you in your enforcement of the canon law, and because God has singled you out for your staunchness in spiritual conflict. Study of the holy scriptures has kept you true to God's law, avoiding sin through penance. The bishop William has subdued the flesh and has
 310 enthroned reason.

The fountain head of the church, namely Christ, who purified a sinful world through the cross, has inspired you, O chancellor, who preached on that famous day when the relics were consecrated.³¹¹ To you, O Odo, Clio my muse has dedicated christcross verses. The study of theology has kept you from sin and has shown you the *summum bonum*.

320 May he, who has fashioned me, aid me by means of the cross; I beseech my creator that he link me, as he does all things, to the cross; he who entwined with the cross the world and all that is in it, he who called to him beyond the stars Christ who saved by means of the cross.

The cross has fixed the equator, which equalizes day and night when the sun passes over it. God has joined the limbs of the body in the form of a cross, as well as the thinking and coördinating soul in which the inert body merely vegetates. The cross has quartered, to resemble itself, the fish, which swims in the limpid river, as well as the bird flying with outstretched wings. Because the cross has cleansed the soul laden with sin, the man of
 330 wisdom has ennobled himself by struggle in the name of the cross. Eve has administered spiritual death to all of us, but the Virgin Mary has rectified sinful Eve. The Virgin has given us Christ, who atoned for sin, confounded hell, and has opened up heaven by means of his cross. Therefore the Virgin has appeased for us God, the thunderer. May she conclude the unstable peace between pope and emperor which deceit has violated.³³⁶ Dread Mars everywhere has spread wars, and, O Pope, the warlike party in Rome has widowed the church lamenting these outrages.

³¹¹⁻³¹⁸ Odo de Châteauroux (Castro Radulphi), called 'Candidus' or 'Blancus,' a Cistercian and a canon of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, was chancellor from 1238 to 1244. In May, 1244, he was made Cardinal bishop of Frascati and the next year was at the council of Lyons with pope Innocent IV who appointed him apostolic legate to preach a crusade in France. In November, 1245, he was in Sens, in January, 1246, in Laon, and in July, 1246, we find him in Paris. In 1248 the pope appointed Odo spiritual chief of the crusade of king Louis IX. In that capacity he was in the Holy Land in 1248. He died at Orvieto in 1273.—B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, XXIV, part II (1876), 204-35; L. Delisle, *Bibliothèque l'école des chartes*, XLIX (1888), 270-72; *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, I, 179, note.

The gloss in *L*, which tells us that Odo preached on the day when the relics were presented in 1241, reveals a new bit of information about that famous ceremony.

³³⁶ This reference to the strife between pope Gregory IX and the emperor Frederick II is discussed above in the section on the authorship and date of the *Morale scolarium*. See also lines 115 and 472.

CHAPTER XIV

ADVISE TO READ WORTHY BOOKS RATHER THAN CERTAIN USELESS MODERN
WORKS. PRAISE FOR THE CHANCELLOR

340 Woe on us, for day and night the devil is attempting to stultify the
University of Paris! He corrupts the standard instruction in the seven
liberal arts, the handmaidens of theology, and is scattering ashes instead of
light. In Orleans the students are being killed by senseless citizens who
cannot distinguish the just from the wicked.³⁴³ The scholars are not defended
by the prelates, who are thinking only of promotion to bishoprics. Oh you
judge of the truth, worthy chancellor of Notre Dame de Paris, the university
rejoices in having you in place of the rector!³⁴⁷ Your name is a palindrome
for it is like the round earth, and, in harmony with it, a well rounded char-
350 acter establishes in you a broad foundation. The ancient classical authors
fairly blossom in good Latin, and a perusal of them improves the style of our
professors and makes them more useful in their lecture chairs. The *Doc-
trinale*, which closes the way to true learning, employs poor Latin full of
tautology; it retards bright students and does not encourage hard work to
perfect their Latin.³⁵³ I concede that any good teacher is capable of some-
times misleading his students as is shown by the experience of Eros.³⁵⁶ Even
those who are half crazy say many things which are good, but that is no
reason why they should be praised and exalted. The deceptive *Grecismus* is
ridiculous in the eyes of scholars who know Greek; even when it sticks to
360 Latin it swells like the isthmus between the Corinthian and the Saronic
gulfs in Greece or like the mountain which conceived and brought forth a

³⁴³ Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, III, 370-71, tells us that about Whitsuntide, 1236, a town and gown riot broke out in Orleans over a woman of the streets. Several students were killed among whom were four youths of noble blood. The bishop excommunicated the guilty and laid an interdict on the town. Local nobles, whose kin had suffered, slaughtered many townsmen in revenge. Finally king Louis IX was obliged to intervene. H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I, 260, note 161, attempted to show that this riot actually took place in 1241-42, but H. Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 141, note 1, called attention to the fact that additional documents in Doinel, *Hugues de Bouteiller et le massacre des clers à Orléans en 1236*, Orleans, 1887, show that Denifle was mistaken. John of Garland also touched upon this incident in *De triumphis ecclesiae*, ed. T. Wright, p. 41, ll. 13-14.

³⁴⁷ The career of Odo the chancellor has been sketched above in the note on line 311. I shall not venture an explanation of the tantalizing reference, in line 348, to the rector of the University of Paris, who is mentioned in the documents of the university for the first time in 1231.—*Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, I, 147.

³⁵³ The *Doctrinale* is well edited by Dietrich Reichling, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei*, Berlin, 1893 [Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, XII], who dates it 1199. John of Garland's attitude toward this book and the *Grecismus* has been discussed sufficiently in the introduction above. See also the *Battle of the seven arts* of Henri d'Andeli, ed. by L. J. Paetow, Berkeley, 1914, 28, 49, note to line 202.

³⁵⁶ Eros was an inferior actor who had been hissed from the stage. He put himself under the tutelage of Roscius and in a very short time his name ranked high among actors.—Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 30.

ridiculous mouse.³⁵⁹ Dodona is not a fit habitation for Ceres, nor are books commendable which depreciate Heliconian masterpieces. The *Doctrinale* and *Grecismus* decline nouns and conjugate verbs incorrectly; for milk they offer poison to the schoolboys, they think ill of the wholesome works of Geoffrey of Vinsauf and consider them reprehensible.³⁶⁵ Gautier,³⁶⁷ inspired by Homer with golden song, with his fine taste enriches the University of Paris, as the petasus of Mercury eclipsed the stars, an athlete of Pallas Athena, in name and in deed a poet, for his highest aim is the joyous triumph
 370 of Phoebus; he, I say, knows that it would be better to do away with the *Doctrinale* and the *Grecismus* which deviate from the rules of Priscian. This error in the University of Paris should be rectified while there is still time to do it; a law should be passed to revive the ancient classics which have fallen into desuetude.³⁷¹ The vainglory of professors is the prime material

³⁵⁹ The *Grecismus*, written in 1212, is edited by Wrobel, Eberhardi Bethuniensis *Graecismus*, Vratislaviae, 1887 [Corpus grammaticorum medii aevi, I]. Its name is derived from the section of the book which treats of Greek etymologies. John of Garland's criticism of Eberhard of Bethune for his ignorance of Greek is well founded.

³⁶⁵ The biography of the Englishman Geoffrey of Vinsauf has been rewritten recently by Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1924 [Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, CCXXXVIII]. His famous poem, the *Poetria nova*, was written about 1210 and dedicated to pope Innocent III. It is now reëdited by Faral, 197-262. The antagonism of the authors of the *Doctrinale* and the *Grecismus* to this poet seems to be a new fact to be added to his very scanty biography.

³⁶⁷ This Galterus (Walter) is very troublesome. Glosses *B* and *C* say that he was an Englishman. It cannot be Walter Map, who died *ca.* 1210, or Geoffrey of Vinsauf (sometimes called Galterus) who is mentioned in line 365. In the *Battle of the seven arts*, ed. Paetow, p. 58, line 402, there is also mention of an Englishman Walter (Gautiers), seemingly a humanist who taught in straitened circumstances on the Petit-Pont. It seems likely that this Walter was an English poet in Paris about the middle of the thirteenth century who has thus far been overlooked in the literary history of the middle ages.

If it were not for the fact that evidence points so strongly to the English origin of our Galterus one might seek to identify him with Gautier de Château-Thierry who was chancellor of the cathedral church of Paris from 1246 to June, 1249, when he was made bishop of Paris, in which office he died on September 23 of that same year. John of Garland knew him very well. We have seen that the *Ars lectoria ecclesie* (*Accentarium*) and the *Commentarius* mention Gautier. H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of romances in the department of MSS in the British Museum*, II, 699, quotes the following stanza from the *Miracula B. Marie Virginis*:

"Ista mira quando scripsi (*sic*)
 Sunt scripture favet isti
 Studium Parisius.
 Hic magister tunc Walterus
 Pie rexit prudens herus
 Pius cancellarius."

There is nothing in our sources to indicate that Gautier de Château-Thierry was a poet. We have some of his sermons and *Quaestiones theologicae*. Of these *Quaestiones* the 19th should be studied with care for, according to Denifle in *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, I, 207, note, it has much to say about masters and the chancellor of the University of Paris.

For the mention of Homer in this line see note to line 240 above.

³⁷¹ The glosses in *B* and *C* tell us that this petition for a reform in the University of Paris was addressed to the chancellor, who, as we have seen in note to line 311 above, was Odo de Châteauroux.

The gloss in *C*, "in this university," seems to indicate that the glosses of the Cambridge manuscript were written in Paris.

for the wit of freshmen because it furnishes jokes for inferior satirists. The university itself should criticize unreasonable books and measures; a liberal policy should prevail to restrain the members of this institution. Many are foolish in their youth, but after they have been nurtured by Pallas, they become wise and good. They no longer waste their time by day nor indulge
 380 in wild escapades at night.

CHAPTER XV

CONCERNING CERTAIN PLEASURE-SEEKING AND GREEDY PRELATES

As Jethro taught Moses so I in this poem instruct my superiors, not forgetting that I too am tainted by original sin. Certain prelates, blessed by fortune, are pot-bellied, born gourmands. They consume huge quantities of lampreys, trout, and many a full bumper of wine. They have nothing to do with the muses. They devour choice meats and fat game; they wear garments of China silk and despise coarse and undyed woolens. But those prelates are even worse who enviously despise and molest their inferiors,
 390 penniless but worthy literary men who are poorer than Codrus himself.³⁹⁰ May prosperity come to those who oppose such greed, who are actually distressed by such unearned possessions, who pound their garlic with hard crusts of bread. Do not be like those prelates, have a mind which is master over your fleshly desires, even if, like me, you are a stranger who was born in a despised country like England.

CHAPTER XVI

ON TABLE MANNERS

Learn how to entertain at table, to provide food and the sauces that go with the various dishes, and to serve seasonable wine in modest quantity.³⁹⁵ Once again I touch critically on manners in polite society so that my readers may become more genteel. According to good custom you should place the sauce on the right, the service plate on the left; you should have the servant
 400 take the first course to him who sits at the head of the table. Take hold of the base of a goblet so that unsightly finger marks may not show on the side. Polite diners pause over their cup but gluttons, who live like mules and

³⁹⁰ Codrus, in Juvenal 3, 203-11, represents the type of penniless literary man:

"Nil habuit Codrus; quis enim negat? et tamen illud
 Perdidit infelix totum nihil."

³⁹⁵ For table manners see note on line 163 above.

weevils, empty it with one draught. Pour wine properly with both hands so as not to spill any. Always serve two pieces of bread. Have several well dressed servants in readiness to bring clean towels and to supply the wants of the guests. Lest I should seem to be in charge of the cooks like Nebuzaradan, I shall not go into the art of preparing fine dishes. Carve the meats which are not to be served in the broth, and skilfully take off the wings of fowl while they are hot. He who takes a walk or a brief nap after dinner preserves his health.⁴¹³ If you wish to regain your strength as a convalescent, and keep your health when you are well, drink moderately. All Epicureans live impure lives; they lose their eyesight, they are rude, unclean, and are doomed to die a sudden death. Let the butler watch carefully over the
 410 Falernian wine entrusted to him, and the slave not stagger while he drains his cups of maple wood. May the generous man receive gifts; the miser will be robbed secretly. To the giver is given, but the stingy man will die poor.

CHAPTER XVII

FROM ONE SUBJECT TO ANOTHER

ABOUT HYPOCRITES OR PAPELARDI

This is the law of satire: to laugh at faults, to leap from one subject to another, to call forth good manners, to reveal ugly, hidden sins. Certain hypocrites know how to disguise themselves like burrowing badgers, they wear bedraggled beggars' cloaks and ungainly shoes.⁴²⁵ Outwardly they are like lambs but their hearts are fierce as wolves, they are rank as goats and bite like dogs. They enjoy snapping at me because of my Galatea, my pure
 430 muse. Far be it from me, however, to take unto myself the infamous Venus as they do.

⁴¹³⁻⁴¹⁴ These two lines are quoted in the *Commentarius* which was written in 1246.—Bruges MS 546, fol. 83.

⁴²⁵ The glosses on the title of chapter XVII and on line 425 throw new light upon the word *papelardi* which was in common use during the thirteenth century as a term of reproach for hypocrites. Gautier de Château-Thierry said in one of his sermons, "devotion is no longer popular, the pious are called hypocrites, *papelardi*."—B. Hauréau, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXVI (1873), 390-95. It is quite clear that *papelardus* is bound up with *melota*. *Meles* in Greek is the same animal as *taxus* = *melota* (a marten or badger), Ital. tasso, Germ. dachs, Fr. taïsson, from Hebrew dasên (punguis), because the animal tends to become fat, hence Isidore of Seville, *Orig.* 20, 2, 4, "Taxea lardus est Gallice dictū." The words "in obscuro" and "latentes" in the glosses on line 425 refer to the fact that the animal lives underground. From the definitions of *melota* in Du Cange, *Glossarium*, and of *papelard* in Murray, *New English Dictionary*, one can easily see the connection between these two words, which has now been established by the text and glosses of the *Morale scolarium*.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCERNING EXCELLENT PRELATES

Some excellent prelates are in office, sustained by heaven though despised by the world, mounting by the strait and narrow path. Their haircloth shirts irritate them like thorns; without luxuries they live on simple fare. Externally they wear sumptuous robes in honor of God, but underneath they suffer the plague of fleas and of cords bound tight on their bare skin.

CHAPTER XIX

CONCERNING BAD AND GOOD MONKS

Some monks vomit forth their wine when the heat of their Bacchic bouts ferments in the stomach. Many black-robed monks shine with virtue;
440 they are chaste and temperate, sustained by theology.

CHAPTER XX

THE SEVEN PROPRIETIES ACCORDING TO THALES OF MILETUS WHICH HE HIMSELF WROTE IN GOLDEN LETTERS IN THE COLOSSUS OF ROME

The sage of Miletus set down these rules of polite behavior for which we should be grateful.⁴⁴¹ Regulate your household soberly; do your civic duties cheerfully; have a word of greeting for strangers as for friends; do your utmost to avoid altercations with irate associates; with a smile and a witticism cover up the faults of others; be faultless at table, glad even to entertain your enemies; bear your misfortunes with fortitude and do not let your head
450 be turned by good fortune. Make an effort to follow these seven rules of courtliness. May you be decked out with them, you who declare yourself to be a scholar; unless you have such urbanities you are taken for a rustic.

⁴⁴¹ Thales (640–546 B. C.), of Miletus, an Ionian philosopher, was the chief of the seven sages. No works of his are extant.

The glosses seem to hint at the *Milesian Tales*, which were short anecdotes produced in large numbers in the cities of Asia Minor prior to the second century B. C. None of them are extant. They probably were much like the tales of the *Decameron*.

The reference to an inscription made by Thales on a colossus in Rome is inexplicable.

The four 'virtues' of Plato were often combined with the three Christian 'virtues,' namely faith, hope, and charity, to make a mystical list of seven cardinal virtues as by Ambrose. See also the seven gifts of the spirit, *Isa.* 11:2. In antithesis to these we have the seven deadly sins.

For other groups of seven see *Die disciplina clericalis* des Petrus Alfonsi, ed. by Alfons Hilka and Werner Söderhjelm, in *Sammlung mittelalterliche Texte*, I, Heidelberg, 1911, 10–11.

CHAPTER XXI

THE SEVEN RUSTICITIES ACCORDING TO THALES

Even though you be a Socrates, if you have rude manners, you are a ditch-digger. Avoid these seven rusticities which are signaled by Thales, the sage. Light-minded talk is unseemly at table; so is presumption and constant contention. It is rude to be ungrateful or cruel toward the poor. It is reprehensible to be haughty towards your dear friends; if you reject
 460 good advice, you are a fool; and you lack the light of reason if you fly in the face of God. These good precepts are not hidden away but are written in the public theater. Avoid these things lest you be consigned behind the gates of hell.

CHAPTER XXII

CONCERNING COMPASSION⁴⁶³ ACCORDING TO THE SIX WORKS OF MERCY

You will be courteous if you perform the following works of mercy: if at night you give beds to the poor, if you heal the sick, if you clothe the freezing, give food to the beggar, console the afflicted, and offer drink to the thirsty.

CHAPTER XXIII

THIS CHAPTER DEFENDS THE POPE AGAINST THE ACCUSATION OF SIMONY

A person who has come from Rome said that my native country was despised there.⁴⁶⁷ Rome, the ultimate goal of my desires, full of wealth and of people, capital of the world, queen of the round dollar, Rome, I say, is
 470 wasted and destroyed from within. Nevertheless, there is in Rome a worthy papal party which observes the laws, but which is about to be overwhelmed by the disgraceful imperial party that rages against the pope,⁴⁷² who carries the cross of Christ and remains unaware of how much evil Simon Magus manifests in the world. Every child is cleansed of sin by baptism although perchance he may be a bastard, blackened by the sin of his father, for what the father defiles (even though he be a priest) is restored by the rite of baptism. If, however, this free gift of the holy spirit is sold for gain such

⁴⁶³ In chapter heading XXII the word 'patientia' seems to mean compassion. Medieval uses of this word should be studied with care. Torkington (*Pilgr.* 55) in 1517 used it in the sense of 'constancy in effort or labor.' See also the use of the word in chapter headings III and VI.

⁴⁶⁷ In various places John of Garland complained that his native country, England, was despised. See line 394.

⁴⁷² For the activities in 1241 of the anti-papal imperial party in Rome see note on line 115 above.

a priest defiles himself. A petition will be sent to Rome to give a dispensa-
 480 tion in such a case. All evil gossip is ended when a bull is issued from Rome.
 But, I say, this means of cleansing sin should not be made the occasion for
 graft, but rather should lead to purity and the curbing of luxury in Rome.
 Hither the student carries a good reputation and thence he should seek
 preferments.⁴⁸³ Our predecessors have taught us to enter the right doors in
 Rome. You should devote yourself to study in the University of Paris lest
 by chance you should fail in Rome. First you should grow in knowledge
 and then you should not fear to exhibit what you know. I place Paris above
 Rome because Paris is resplendent with the battle of the schools, namely,
 with disputations, and with the sound of eloquence, and is lofty with the gift
 of the holy spirit. I will not scoff at the just; if I shall see any insults I shall
 490 offer a shield of defense to support the rights of the prelates. If, as Horace
 says, you daub over virtues with the names of vices you do not say the
 truth about things, O you worst of detractors! Plunder, murder, fisticuffs
 are not abuses of the pope. But the princes of the earth commit outrages
 after their drinking bouts, they often insult Christ with the robberies which
 follow, they maltreat the clergy, and fill their houses with spoil.

CHAPTER XXIV

APPEAL TO THE ROMANS AND THE EMPEROR TO TAKE THE CROSS

Victorious Rome, honorable people, seat of the empire, why is such a
 place linked with such evils? Here is the fountain of faith, the sun, the
 500 source of our day, the full table of the lord, the hospitable house of Zacchaeus.
 O emperor, you would bear juster arms if you would conquer Jerusalem.⁵⁰¹
 There you will be king and Caesar and afterwards be borne into heaven.
 The victory of the holy cross gives the joys of eternal glory if you march
 under the banner of Christ.

CHAPTER XXV

HERE THOSE ARE INSTRUCTED WHO DO NOT HAVE THE PROPER FORM
OF PRAYER

While Moses prays with hand outstretched or while Joshua similarly
 laments that he is striving in vain with Mars, that is, while some have the
 proper attitude in prayer, this suppliant prays while he is sewing his garments,

⁴⁸³ For the practice of university graduates to seek benefices in Rome see note on line 216.

⁵⁰¹ The interest of John of Garland in the crusades is very evident in his *De triumphis ecclesie*. See L. J. Paetow, "The crusading ardor of John of Garland," in *The crusades and other historical essays presented to Dana C. Munro by his former students*, New York, 1927, 207-22.

the other while he is making reins for his horses, this one while he is piping on reeds, and another while he is weaving baskets for the winnowing pans. Pray for the *summum bonum* and not for the wealth of centurions; seek gifts
510 of God and receive the apex of the crown of glory.

CHAPTER XXVI

ON THE IMPIETY OF THE RICH IN TIME OF HIGH PRICES

It is a time of high prices, a serious time, a time of greed.⁵¹¹ The rich man dispenses to the poor shamefully little from his table. There is the man who will not beg even if he has little; he suffers many irksome things until he shall have accustomed himself to them. Poverty plucks up many by the roots and expels them from their heritage; it shamefully beats them down and deprives them of house and home.

CHAPTER XXVII

CONCERNING THE SLACKENING OF LAW IN KINGS

The prudence of Pharaoh supplied his realms with provisions in the seven lean years but there is no such virtue in our kings.⁵¹⁷ Merchants now
520 rule and honors are sold; the worst men are now the most powerful. Although God provides abundance, the greedy do not allow us to enjoy it; the crown is practically handed over to them and the king waits upon his subjects. He contracts to bargain with the blood of the clergy and sells the provostship to the highest bidder.

⁵¹¹ For the cause of these high prices in Paris during the year 1241 see the section on the authorship and date of the *Morale scolarium*.

⁵¹⁷⁻⁵²⁴ John of Garland wrote a similar passage on corruption in Paris in his *Clavis compendii*:

"Hec tibi Parisius scripsi, cujus status urbis,
Quem vis scire, malus et silve tramite pejor,
Prepositis jura dum vendit regia cura
Latronum turbis venundatus est cruor urbis.
Nostri doctores qui corripuere minores
Carpant majores solitos evertere leges.
Terrarum dominos catigent sicut et imos.
Annone pretium non respicit auctio panis.
Regum justitia quam levis est et inanis!"

Quoted by A. De Poorter, *Revue des bibliothèques* (1926), 123, from Bruges, MS 546, fol. 30v (b), under the marginal title: "De loco ubi hec sunt composita et malitia mundi."

John of Garland's friend, the chancellor Odo de Châteauroux, inveighed in similar strain against the corruption of the court. See the analysis of his sermons by B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, XXIV, part II (1876), 228-32. The loose life of students, monks, preachers, and bishops, was also lashed by another friend of John of Garland, Gautier de Château-Thierry, chancellor from 1246 to 1249, who seems to have shared his philosophy of life. See B. Hauréau, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXVI (1873), 390-95.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ON THE NATURE OF FORTUNE

O tribune do not exalt yourself unduly when fortune has favored you! You cannot do this with impunity for you, who are so high, should beware lest you fall, cast down to the depths of poverty. Him whom I, Fortune, exalt, falls and laments in his fall; if I choose, I raise from the mire him whom
 530 I first overthrow.

CHAPTER XXIX

ADVICE TO PERSEVERE IN GOODNESS UNTO DEATH

The moral code of Seneca is sage without filth. Neither the foolish Roman haymakers who spoilt their porridge with thick oils brought from Greece, nor all the imported Greek fables, mar the good old Roman morality. Nero executed Seneca, who shone as the gem of pagan moralists. Seneca suffered death on account of envy and spite. If Seneca braved death why do poets now remain silent, fearing for their skin? It is due to their silence that heresies are increasing and that the day of certain truth does not dawn. There are many good Christians, there are many religious orders, like the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Beguines, who hate the wicked and are devoted to God alone. Hence the world should be cleansed and be made happy.
 540 But, my dear friends, I see evils being multiplied. I believe that the insidious devil, also men of evil, in league with their foul chief, and the capacity of heresy now do all this. There are youths who live evil lives and who know altogether too much about women; they hate the liberal arts and their teachers. Grammar and logic flee from these dandies, who are constantly primping and combing their hair. Rhetoric, with its figures of speech, does not spring from such youths. They scorn baptism, and condemn the articles of faith. Schism dares to offer for sale the gift of the holy spirit.

CHAPTER XXX

HOW STUDENTS SHOULD BEHAVE

Regard as models of deportment the graven images of the churches,
 550 which you should carry in your mind as living and indelible pictures.⁵⁴⁹
 Cherish again the violets of civility without blemish so that, when your blindness has vanished, the eyes of your soul may have no wasting disease.

⁵⁴⁹⁻⁵⁵⁰ These two lines were repeated by John of Garland in his *De mysteriis ecclesie*, lines 60-61, of which see also lines 52 ff.

Be not a fornicator, O student, a robber, a murderer, a deceitful merchant, a champion at dice. In the choirstalls a cleric should chant without noise and commotion. I advocate that the ordinary layman, who does not sing, be kept out of the choir. A student, who is a churchman, is expected to follow good custom, to be willing to serve, to fee the notary who has drawn up a charter for him, to gladden the giver. Do not constantly urge your
 560 horse on with the spur, which should be used only on rare occasions. Give your horse the reins when he mounts an incline; fearing a serious accident, avoid crossing swollen rivers, or the Rhine. If a bridge is not safe, you should dismount and let the horse pick his way over the smooth parts. Mount gently on the left stirrup. Select beautiful equestrian trappings suitable to your clerical station. Ride erect unless you are bent by age. If you are of the elect you should have a rich saddle cloth. The cross should be exalted, the voice be raised in prayer, Christ should be worshiped, the
 570 foot should be taken out of the stirrup. The horseman will descend from his horse and say his prayers; no matter how far he then will travel, he will ride in safety. He who wishes to serve should be quick, not go to sleep, and not give way to anger against his lord. Avoid drunkards, those who indulge in secret sin, those who like to beat and strike, those who love lewdness, evil games, and quarrels. Passing a cemetery, if you are well-bred, and if you hope for salvation, you pause to pray that the dead may rest in peace. Have nothing to do with the prostitute, but love your wife; all wives
 580 should be honored but especially those who are distinguished by virtue. A person who is well should not recline at table in the fashion of the ancients. When you walk after dinner keep on frequented streets, avoid insincere speeches. Unless you wish to be considered a fool learn to keep your mouth shut in season. Stand and sit upright, do not scratch yourself.⁵⁸⁴

CHAPTER XXXI

AROMATIC DRUGS SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TO EXCESS BECAUSE THEY FOUL THE MOUTH

I must speak about medical matters and drugs, but Phoebus shows that they are harmful if taken too often.⁵⁸⁵ In order that a man be kept entirely healthy this chapter is added so that the mind may be purified and the body strengthened. Nutmeg may be taken as well as cloves, musk
 590 may be given, fennel may be eaten by anybody; they expel gas from the

⁵⁸⁴ The gloss in *L*, "commendo inter socios," seems to hint at a proverb, e.g., "to scratch where it does not itch."

⁵⁸⁵ For further information about John of Garland's interest in medicine see under his work *Memoriale* above.

stomach and thus, along with the triple compartments of the brain, they comfort the cerebellum. By means of cooked pears you can take away fevers with marvelous results. Pliris is good for weak and melancholy men. The thin flux (usia) is cured by means of diapienidia. Ygia is good for rheumatics, athanasia for flux of the bowels. Give diaciminum and sweet wine to those who have indigestion. Justinum and goat's blood dissolve stone in the bladder. Diaprunis makes you immune to fevers; when given
 600 to patients who have fasted, a decoction with prunes from Damascus allays fevers. A sane diet is essential to a life of happiness; thus you will be strong and vigorous when health, the aim of the physician, is yours.

CHAPTER XXXII

ON THE GODLESSNESS OF THOSE WHO LIVE BY PLUNDER

I visited my native country and met with sailors who were like wild beasts such as the whelps which Theseus found in the lower world.⁶⁰³ The English Channel is savage, and savage is the heart of the sailor, and one's cheeks are lashed by the stormy and destructive heavens. They all robbed me and returned nothing, but bit by bit took all my belongings and mocked me. In this crisis it was of great value to have a true friend, and not a
 610 Carthaginian, namely, poor master William, who, as the true friend in the fable, would have helped me bury the body of a man I had murdered.⁶⁰⁹ Therefore be not like the cruel sea but make yourself loved; if you are noble allow yourself to be appeased, if rich, to be subdued.

CHAPTER XXXIII

HOW WE SHOULD BEHAVE IN ADVERSITY ACCORDING TO THE DEFINITION OF COURTLINESS

Exhibit a good deportment in deeds, and in words; learn the custom of the country in which you happen to be. Do not be noisy, rash in your actions, odious because of your insulting words, wrathful about little annoy-

⁶⁰³ This visit of John of Garland to England is discussed above in the section, "Later Years and Death of John of Garland."

⁶⁰⁹⁻⁶¹⁰ Nothing further is known about John of Garland's friend in need, master William. It could scarcely be his servant mentioned in line 228, and called William in the glosses, or his neighbor William, mentioned in his *Dictionarius* (ed. Wright, 123).

The story of the true friend, told in the glosses of *B*, is evidently retold from "Exemplum I: De dimidio amico," from *Die Disciplina clericalis* des Petrus Alfonsi (das älteste Novellenbuch des Mittelalters), ed. by Alfons Hilka and Werner Söderhjelm, in *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, I, Heidelberg, 1911, 3-4. This oriental story book was translated into Latin early in the twelfth century.

ances. You should never despair if you suffer on account of sin; you will bear all the bitterness of poverty, knowing that you are an heir of the eternal prince. Be peaceful among peaceful citizens, be like a rich patron among the poor. You should disassociate yourself from the rich, for, a celibate on
 620 earth, you will dwell with Christ, the celibate, in heaven. Hasten to help a needy friend, give him money if you can. Be a good debtor and hasten to pay your debts lest you be condemned by your burden of sin and by the peasant bewailing his losses. You should take good care of your horse, give him enough water, clean straw when he is worn out, and enough of the kind of food he likes to eat. There are more such precepts for him who wishes to know all the rules of politeness; as such, make it your ambition, by careful study, to learn them.

CHAPTER XXXIV

MASTER JOHN BLUND, THE CHANCELLOR OF THE CHURCH OF YORK, AS
 A GOOD EXAMPLE

The flower of York, once the flower of Paris, fights the battle of the
 630 Lord by means of alms from his table, which he takes from his income.⁶²⁹ The grace of this man Blundus, whom the whole world applauds in his high office, finds expression in various ways: by means of his name John which signifies the grace of God, by the perfect sanctity of his mind, and by his absolute purity. With the bounty of his victorious right hand, which closed the mouth of his enemy, he will stand in this book as an example, he will illuminate this satire, he will condemn sin, he will reveal the grace of good manners.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE LAWS OF NATURE ARE SUBVERTED BY THE WICKED

Nature laments because her laws are subverted when the creature denies
 its creator. Faith, hope, and charity save the just; strive after these three
 640 and do whatever depends on them. But who has the fruits of these works; what woman, pray, mendacious and deceptive, follows Christ? In a friendly

⁶²⁹ John Blund was an Englishman who studied arts and theology in Paris, which he left in the great dispersion of 1229 to return to England along with several of his countrymen.—Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, III, 166 (see also III, 223, 243; V, 41, for his later career). He had been a student of Peter of Blois. Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, was one of his friends (Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, ed. Luard, 68). In Oxford he taught theology and is said to have been among the first to teach Aristotle there. In 1232 he was elected archbishop of Canterbury but the pope refused to confirm the election. About that time he became a canon in the church of York where he rose to the chancellorship before 1241, as is proved by the *Morale scolarium*. He died as chancellor of York in 1248. See the article by Canon Venables in *Dictionary of national biography*, V, 264–65.

fashion the prostitute makes attractive her impious falsehoods. There are also certain deceivers among men who profess friendship only in words but who soon are found wanting. Honest professors are deceived by certain senior assistants who are worse than sailors and more unreliable than winds.⁶⁴⁷ The palm of glory in logic belongs to master Herveus whose virtues rise to
 650 heaven like frankincense from Arabia.⁶⁴⁹ While he is generous, in the same manner he overcomes envy; likewise I praise his fidelity since I knew it a long time ago. The worth of my friends shines with me, the poet, and in my poems glow the great examples of famous men. Long may you live, wise and just, following the right, strong in conquering misfortunes, and holding to the happy mean!

CHAPTER XXXVI

CONCLUSION OF THE WORK AND THE COURTLINESS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN
MARY

Oh Star of the Sea, be thou my goal in these earthly miseries and mayest thou be illuminated by the rays of eternal light. Come, thou branch of Jesse, who wast deemed worthy to be the parent of the Father, by the fruit of thy
 660 womb thou dost avert the original yoke of sin. Thou who art spotless, the goal of life, shorten my life, raise me up to thee and enrich me with the fruit of thy womb.

Here ends the Morality of Master John of Garland.

⁶⁴⁷ The *seniores* were probably bachelors who assisted professors. See note on line 206 above.

⁶⁴⁹ In the *entourage* of Thomas Aquinas there was a Herveus Natalis whose works have not been published. See Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, I, 42. It is not likely that this man is identical with the 'official' Natalis mentioned in line 65 above.

THE INTRODUCTIONS TO THE MORALE SCOLARIUM FOUND IN THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE WORK

(1) INTRODUCTION IN THE BRUGES MANUSCRIPT

Articulo. In hoc opere incipiendum est quia sumitur a causa materiali cum dicitur "Incipit Morale scolarium contra malitiam huius mundi." Per hoc quod dicitur morale innuitur materia, quia mores et curialitates sunt materia huius operis. Per hoc quod dicitur scolarium innuitur finis operis. In scolariis enim est finis preceptorum quando ipsi virtutibus et curialitatibus informantur et preceptis theologicis et phisicis que in hoc opusculo continentur. Per hoc quod dicitur contra malitiam huius mundi operatio causa formalis in prologo demonstratur.

Efficiens causa est magister Iohannes de Garlandia. Utilitas satis patet: gramatice supponitur, ethice, theologie, phisice, quod in locis suis manifestabitur. Sic ergo sumitur a titulo negotii introitus est huius libri. Unde versus: Materiam titulo, causam, fructum retinemus; Hec tria si titulus disponetur, inveniemus. In prologo continentur quatuor: primo utilitas philosophorum, inde modus agendi per consonantiam Leoninam, et utilitas per reprehensionem satiricam, et causa suscepti operis ut ad utilitatem vite iuvenes introducat. Bruges, MS 546, fol. 2.

(2) INTRODUCTION IN THE CAMBRIDGE MANUSCRIPT

Ad cognitionem huius opusculi necesse est causas in principio cognoscere. Sciendum est ergo in principio quantum ad presens negotium quoniam sex sunt inquirenda, scilicet quis titulus, que materia, que utilitas sive finis, cui parti philosophie supponatur quia est opus satiricum, quid sit satyra, ultimum unde dicatur satyra.

Titulus talis est: Incipit morale scolarium contra mundi malitiam. Per titulum tria manifestantur, scilicet materia, et utilitas sive finis, quartum [*sic*] cui parti philosophie supponatur.

Per hoc enim quod dicit morale patet materia quoniam materia huius libri est moralitas.

Per idem etiam patet utilitas quoniam utilitas est ut perlecto libro per moralitatem hic traditam moderata studeat [quisque] vivere continentia et ab imminentibus sciat se precavere adversitatibus.

Per idem etiam patet cui parti philosophie supponatur quoniam ethice et hoc secundum omnes sui partes que scilicet sunt tres partes: politica, que pertinet ad civilia regenda et dicitur a polis, quod est civitas, et icos, custodia; et iconomica, que pertinet ad unumquemque habentem familiam scilicet ut congrue regat se et familiam suam propriam, et dicitur ab yconomos, quod est dispensatio eo quod dominus est dispensator familie sue; tertia dicitur monostica que pertinet ad religiosos qui non habent curam nisi tantum proprie persone, et dicitur a monos quod est unus, et icos, quod est custodia, quasi custodia unius. Ethica dicitur ab ethis, quod est mos latine, sive moralis.

Supponitur etiam liber ille theologie et hoc propter quedam scripta theologica que continentur in ipso. Supponitur etiam naturali philosophie propter quasdam causas naturales que continentur, scilicet ut causa eclipsis solis et lune et causa grandinis. Supponitur etiam phisice propter quedam que traduntur ad remedium lapsorum scilicet cum homo lapsus fuerit a sanitate sua.

Et sciendum quod substantivatur hoc nomen morale ab adiectivo, quod est hic et hec moralis et hoc morale, et declinatur hoc morale, -lis. Per hoc quod dicit scolarium patet quibus scribitur. Contra mundi malitiam dicit quoniam sunt multe reprehensiones et adversitates mundi que vitari [evitari (L)] possunt per doctrinam hic traditam.

Satyra est sermo reprehensorius causa castigationis vitia hominum, prout facta sunt detestabilia manifestans; per hoc autem quod dicit sermo reprehensorius causa castigationis excludit sermonem reprehensum qui fit causa malignitatis. Et dicitur a satyris, diis nemorum, qui optinent

morem satyricorum aliquem, unde in nemore aliquando insultant et aliquando hinniunt ad modum satiricorum. Ut dicitur a satyra re quod est nomen vasis quod habebatur in sacrificiis deorum eo quod in ipsis opponuntur diversa fercula ad honorem deorum, ita per solitudinem satyricis diversis reprehensionibus populum castigabant, nec ulli parcebant sive amico sive alii. Proprietates autem satirici habentur per hos versus qui sunt postea in libro, *hec est lex satyre* [see line 423].

Illis extrinsecus prenotis ad literam accedendum sit, scilicet ut liber dividatur. Dividitur enim in prologum qui incipit cum dicit "Humiles" et tractatum qui incipit ibi "Scribo novam satiram." Notandum quod in prologo tria continentur, scilicet similitudo quedam que monet nos ad literalem scientiam vel doctrinam que est in auctoribus et philosophis, et hoc non ut exequamur idolatria in illis tradita ut ibi stemus set propter ornatum eloquentie ad utilitatem ecclesie. Monet etiam nos ad veritatem evangelicam exequendam, et modus agendi continetur ibidem, ibi scilicet, "Ut igitur ab hoc opusculo," etc., et etiam utilitas cum dicit, "In hoc igitur libello." Et sciendum quod materia huius satyre in generali est inpatientia corectionis. Quidam enim impatientes sunt sicut stolidi elati quod vix propter inpatientiam nolunt castigari. Hec autem quantum ad extrinsecus inquirenda sufficiant.

A titulo in hoc opere incipiendum qui sumitur a causa materiali et finali cum dicit, "morale scolarium." Per hoc quod dicitur morale innuitur quod materia huius operis est mores et curialitates. Per hoc quod dicitur scolarium innuitur finis in scolariis enim est finis preceptorum quando ipsi virtutibus et curialitatibus reformantur et preceptis theologicis et fisicis que in hoc opusculo continentur. Per hoc quod dicitur malis mundi operatio causa formalis in prologo demonstratur.

Causa efficiens est magister Iohannes de Gerlandia.

Utilitas satis patet: gramatice supponitur, ethice, theologice, phisice, quod in locis sensum manifestari patebit. Sic ergo a titulo sumitur negotium libri huius introitus. Unde versus: materiam titulo, causam, fructum retinemus.

In prologo continentur quatuor: primo, utilitas philosophorum, inde modus agendi per consonantiam leoninam, et utilitas per reprehensionem satiricam, et causa suscepti operis ut ad honestatem vite iuvenes introducat. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 385, fol. 316.

(3) INTRODUCTION IN THE LINCOLN MANUSCRIPT

Humiles, etc. Sicut dicit Aristotiles in principio phisicorum: tunc unumquodque cognoscere arbitramur cum causas, principia et elementa cognoscamus [Arist. *phys.* 1. 1 sq.]. Et notandum quod secundum Averoy in commento secundum librum phisicorum quod hec est differentia inter elementa, principia et causas: scilicet quod elementa sunt de intravietate rei, hoc est de rei essentia cujusmodi sunt materia et forma, que duo ducunt rem inesse. Principia vero non sunt de intravietate rei id est de inessentia, set sunt extranea, et conferunt ad esse rei, cujusmodi sunt efficiens et finis, que omnino sunt extra esse. Causa vero communiter se habet ad illa duo, scilicet ad principia et elementa, sive ad quatuor genera causarum, quod idem est, eo quod elementa et principia valent tantum quantum quatuor cause, scilicet quantum causa materialis, formalis, et efficiens et finalis [*sic*]. [The rest of the introduction in this manuscript is identical with the first paragraphs of that in the Cambridge manuscript.] Lincoln Cathedral, MS 132 [C. 5. 8], fol. 9.

(4) INTRODUCTION IN THE OXFORD MANUSCRIPT

In principio huius opusculi tractoribus emulis, id est invidis, est oviandum. Auctoritate Senece Democritum potius imitemur quam Eraclium. Hic enim Democritus quotiens in pupplicum procelserat; flebat. Ille Eraclius ridebat. Huic enim Democrito omnia que agimus misere; et illi Eraclio inepte agi videbantur. Democritus flebat compatiendo, Eraclius ridebat cachinnando

[Sen. *dial.* 4, 10, 5, where we see that our glossator confused the two names.] Cum igitur nihil sit perfectum in humanis operibus, ut dicit philosophus, lectores huic operi compatiantur nec ex derisione et invidia velint cachinnari. Cuius operis materia est virtus, curialitas, philosophia. Virtus est quadruplex, fortitudo, iustitia, prudentia, temperantia; de hiis quatuor et earum speciebus ad presens omittimus quia hic proprium non obtinent locum.

Virtus est bonus animi habitus rationi et nature consentaneus.

Curialitas est venerabilis habitus in dictis et factis et in continentia corporis secundum patrie consuetudinem approbatus.

Philosophia est divinarum humanarumque rerum cognitio.

Intentio auctoris est moralitates docere et rusticitates reprehendere in hominibus et maxime in clericis quia omnis curialitas habet originem a clericis, quod patet per Taletem philosophum qui septem curialitates scripsit in registro Rome ut dicitur hic in hoc libro.

Supponitur autem grammaticae propter intentiones diversorum vocabulorum; etice propter moralitatem et cur[i]alitatē quandoque enim moralitatem sub omnes suas species, scilicet pollicam, heconomicam, monasticam. Ut patebit inferius, fisice supponitur propter fiscalia. Teologie propter theologica et per hoc patet modus agendi, et etiam modus agendi est satiricus.

Utilitas est cur[i]alita[ti]s informatio, rusticitatis refutatio, veritatis cognitio.

Titulus talis est: Incipit morale scolar[i]um contra mundi malitiam, et per [t]itulum innuitur causa susceptio [*sic*] operis. [A meaningless phrase of six words follows.] Et quia satirice loquitur in hoc libro videamus quid sit satira. Et est satira sermo reprehensorius, et cetera. Et dicitur a satiris, diis venerum [nemorum?], quia sicut animalia silvestria saltant et resultant sic sermo reprehensorius saltat et gaudet ob facta malorum.

Ut dicitur a satiro quodam vase, in illo enim vase antiqui ponebant duo, unum ad sacrificium deorum, aliud ad utilitatem sacerdotum. Sic in sermone reprehensorio sunt duo, unum ad laudem boni et aliud ad reprehensionem mali, et cetera. Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson G. 96, p. 154.

PART II

MORALE SCOLARIUM OF JOHANNES DE GARLANDIA

PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME FROM
FIVE MANUSCRIPTS WITH THEIR GLOSSES

MORALE SCOLARIUM*

INCIPIT PROLOGUS SUPER MORALE SCOLARIUM CONTRA MALITIAM HUIUS MUNDI*

Humiles* in spineto mirice, sicut in areolis* aromatum rosaria,* flosculos habent salubres et humani corporis distemperantie competentes. Pari pacto spineta vatice compositionis florentia prosunt ecclesie, licet non tantum quantum salutifera* floriditas Augustini;* quia cum contrariorum eadem sit* disciplina, perceptis

B=Bruges, 546, fols. 2-12r, 146r-147v; C=Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 385, fols. 302-316; L=Lincoln Cathedral, 132 [C. 5. 8], fols. 29r-30v, 1-9r; O=Oxford, Bodleian, Rawlinson G, 96, pp. 154-176; P=Paris, Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. lat. 1544, fols. 100-102r.

Title. Appears Morale Scholarium in a modern hand in C.

Title of prologue. Appears thus in L, omitted in BCO.

1. [H]umiles *L*.
7. ariolis, corrected areolis *B*; arieolis *L*.
9. rosarea *O*.
30. salutifera *B*.
32. Agustini *B*.
37. fit *L*.

GLOSSES, INTERLINEAR AND MARGINAL, ON MORALE SCOLARIUM

(In the prologue, numbers refer to words; in the text, numbers refer to lines.)

PROLOGUE

1. *Humiles*, cum sit opus initiale satis est humilis inceptio a similitudine geneste et rosarum. Geneste comparantur auctores et philosophi, rosis comparantur matres *B*, after the prologue. Similar at end of *C* where the last clause reads: rosis evangelice auctores.

3. *spineto*, Spinetum proprie est locus ubi spine crescunt, spine autem dicuntur divitie pungentes animam *O* at head of prologue; Spina est equitum, unde verbum: me pungit spina pars est in corpore spina *O* left margin; in loco spinetarum *B*; ASPINABLES *B* right margin.

4. *mirice*, miricetum, locus ubi crescunt GENECE, geneste *L*; humiles geneste *B*; BROM, geneste *O*; Per miricas intendit ipse poetas et per rosaria intendit ille prophetas et theologos *O* right margin.

7. *areolis*, Areola differt ab ariolo et ab auriola ut patet hiis verbis: areoli satane sacrant, facit area parva areolam, set aureolam dic esse coronam *O* left margin, similar in *L*.

8. *aromatum*, Aroma dicitur de aer, aeris, et oma, macis, quod est odor in aromatibus quasi aeris oma, id est bonus odor aeris, unde versus: Id quod habet sortitur ab aere nomen

aroma [cp. Isid. orig. 17, 8, 1] *L* right margin, similar in *O* right margin; florum preciosorum *B*.

10. *flosculos*, parvos flores et pauperes *L* right margin.

16. *distemperantie*, infirmitati *BCO*.

17. *competentes*, salubres, dico utiles *B*.

18. *Pari pacto*, Quasi diceret libri poetarum prosunt ecclesie, licet non tantum quantum scripta Augustini, qui fuit quasi excellens in retorica et in expositione theologica *O* right margin, similar in *L* right margin; simili modo *B*.

20. *spineta*, dura dicta *BL*.

21. *vatice*, poete *B*.

23. *florentia*, coloribus rethoricis *B*.

26. *licet*, pro quamvis *CLO*; Hoc dicit propter fabulas auctorum *C* right margin.

35. *contrariorum*, per veritates et fabulas *B*; sicut ydolatrie et veritatis ecclesie *L*; quia non cognoscitur malum nisi per bonum, nec album nisi per nigrum *L* right margin.

36. *eadem*, Est pactum ratio conditioque lucrarum, per virtutes ecclesie et falsas poetarum *L* left margin.

38. *disciplina*, Disciplina equivoca est, unde versus: Disciplina docet, castigat, cogit obediri *L* left margin.

hic erroribus sub lucis enigmatē, illic animo iocundiore manifesta veritas acceptatur.* Set super hiis quod sufficit expresso* quod pertinet ad hoc opusculum* breve, breviter exprimatur. Ut igitur ab hoc opusculo* procul adulationis* aura mulcebris relegetur, abicio precepto Moysi* plumas et vesicas turturum et columbarum, plumas phalerarum* et arrogantie* vesicas, quibus simplices defraudantur.* Ne tamen omnino nudus deridear,* ad ornatum michi Leoninam consonantiam* reservavi,* cum celi terreque deus creator et eorum optimus ornator ornatorem* non repudiet sui* nominis ad honorem. Providit enim philosophos* sicut et prophetas* ut illi latinitatis ornatum ecclesie prepararent,* isti veritatis* testimonium perhiberent.* In hoc igitur* libello reprehensione satirica* vitiis moralitas opponitur, rusticitati curialitas adversatur, theologie* misterium interseritur,* causa quarumdam naturalium rerum* enodatur, ut per hec introductoria* scolastice vite ruditas elimetur.*

- 50. exceptatur *C*.
- 56. Super hiis expresso quod sufficit *C*.
- 61. opusculum *B*.
- 69. opusculo *B*.
- 71. adulationis *O*.
- 77. Moysi *B*.
- 85. pfalerarum *B*.
- 87. arogantie *CO*.
- 91. deffraudantur *L*.
- 96. deriderar *corrected* deridear in margin of *L*, deridetur *O*.
- 101. consonantium *L*.
- 102. reservavi *added in margin of C*.
- 112. hornationem *O*.
- 115. suis *C*.

- 41. erroribus, in auctoribus *BCLO*.
- 43. lucis, veritatis *BCL*.
- 44. enigmatē, obscuritate *BCL*; enigma est prope visio vana in speculo *L right margin*.
- 45. illic, in sacro ypagine *B*, sacra pagina *L*; in scriptis Augustini et ceterorum *O*.
- 49. veritas, evangelica *BCL*.
- 50. acceptatur, frequenter accipitur *BC*.
- 56. expresso, postquam expressum est *BCL*; expressione facta *LO*.
- 71. adulationis, ventuosus sermo *C*; compositio de ad et aula *L*; adulatio que est quasi aura mulcebris *LO*.
- 72. aura, delectatio vel favor *B*.
- 78. plumas et vesicas, ornamenta poetarum, inflationes illorum *C*.
- 85. phalerarum, phalere, -arum, enim equivoce sunt, enim ornamenta equina. Unde Juvenalis: ut phaleris [Juv. 16, 60] *L left margin*; ornata dicta poetarum *B*.
- 95. nudus, carens coloribus *B*; sine coloribus retoricis *O*.

- 121. filosofos *L*.
- 124. prophetes *corrected* prophetas *O*.
- 130. prepararent *CLO*.
- 132. veritati *CO*.
- 134. periberent *L*.
- 137. igitur *omitted in C*.
- 140. sathirica *B*, satirica *C*.
- 147. teologie *L*, theologice *O*.
- 149. interseretur, *corrected* interseritur *B*.
- 153. quarumdam rerum naturalium causa *C*.
- 158. introdictoria *O*.
- 162. ut per hec introductoria scolastice vite ruditas contra malitiam mundi elimetur *C*, ut per hec introdictoria scolastice vite ruditas contra mundi malitiam elimetur *O*, ut is inserted in *B*, omitted in *L*.
- 98. ad ornatum, istius libri *B*.
- 100. leoninam, Leonis poete *B*; sic dicit ab inventore *L*.
- 118. honorem, Satiricus Bion: non minus est molestum calvis quam comicis pilosa vestis *B right margin opposite the word honorem*.
- 142. moralitas, fascessia *B*; virtus *C*.
- 148. misterium, a mistim grece, secretum latine *BL*.
- 152-3. naturalium rerum, phisicalium rerum *B*.
- 154. enodatur, demonstratur in hoc libro et unde fit vix grande iter *O right margin*; enucleatur *B left margin*.
- 162. [malitiam mundi], mundus est equivocus, unde versus: Mundus, homo mundus, homines elementaque mundus, Mundus, res vana mundique voluptas *L right margin*. These lines are also quoted line 326 *B*.

INCIPIT MORALE SCOLARIUM*

Scribo novam satiram,* set sic ne* seminet iram,
 Iram deliram, letali vulnere diram,
 Nullus dente mali lacerabitur in speciali,
 Immo metro tali ludet stilus in generali.
 5 Hoc complectaris carmen morale, scolaris,
 Ne confundaris, set ut inclitus efficiaris.
 Si qua sit hic rara tibi* dictio, sit* tibi cara.
 Mens labat ignarā* doctrinaque marcet* avara.

Title. Hic incipit morale scolarium C, Hic incipit principale opus contra inpatientes correctionis L, Morale scolarium O.

1. sathiram B; non O.
7. cui L; sit added in B.
8. ingnara O; marcessit L.

TEXT

Incipit. Premisso prologo, hic dicit que sit intentio sua et modum agendi suum. Dicit se satire [sic] scribere. Videndum et quid sit satira et unde dicatur. Satira est sermo reprehensorius, vitia hominum, prout facta sunt, reprehendens. Alia parte quere versus (*in the extreme left margin we find the verses: Delirus hic cantat, Delirus montibus errat, with the explanation: Hic Leo fuit quidam versificator, which may, however, be a reference to Leonine verses mentioned in the prologue*). Et in illo libro non est lex vitiis ridere, salire etc. Et dicitur satira a satiro vel a satira quod est magnus discus in pompa, et sicut discus ille repletur carnibus diversis sic satira efficitur contra et commicetur vitiis et virtutibus. Vel satira est quoddam vas quod solet poni in templo et repleti diversis ferculis *B left margin*.

1. *Scribo*, describo B.—*satiram*, reprehensionem BCL; novum opus satiricum, LO;

Indignans satyra diridet, nudat operta,

Voce salit, vitiis fetet, agreste sapit.

Satira est sermo moralis vitia, prout gesta sunt, manifestans.

Angele, qui meus es custos, pietate gubernas

Me tibi commissum, serva, defende, gubernas *B right margin*.—*iram*, hic est conduplicatio, id est anadipposus, id est color rethoricus *L right margin*.

2. *deliram*, deviam BCL. *diram*, crudelem BCL; quia reprehensores ultra modum reprehendentes, solebant suspendi in palis *B and similar in L right margin*.

3. De nullo dicitur malum in hic libello specialiter L.

4. *Immo*, pro set BL.—*metro tali*, scilicet leonino C.—*generali*, qualitas carminis B.

5. *Hoc complectaris*, Hic innuitur titulus per hoc quod dicit morale, et invitat auditores ad audiendum librum, quoniam preter curialitatem possumus etiam multas dictiones diversas inusitatas addicere, et hoc est quod dicit: si qua sit hic rara tibi dictio sit tibi cara *B left margin*; ut vina si complectibilis O.—*carmen morale*, docens mores B.

6. *confundaris*, scilicet per rusticitatem BCL.—*inclitus*, in gloria positus BL; intus LO.

7. *qua*, aliqua BL.—*rara*, raro inventa LO.

8. *Mens labat*, quia quidam sunt inseci qui nolunt addicere sicut [c]ecatores, quidam sunt boni clerici qui nolunt alios docere quod sciunt, et utrumque illorum pessimum est; unde versus: in terris duo sunt quamvis abscondita, pars fossus humi, scensus latitans sub pectore; Augustinus: non est perfecta scientia que non habet supra sacram paginam fundamentum *B left margin, similar in L right margin*.—*labat*, cadit BCL.—*doctrina*, magistri BC.

CAPITULUM I

PERSUASIO* AD MORALITATES ET AD LIBERALES ARTES*

THEMA THEOLOGICUM AD ELOQUENTIAM SCOLARIUM*

Legitur in *Exodo* [25,23–25]: Facies mensam de lignis cetim, habentem duos cubitos longitudinis et in latitudine cubitum, et in altitudine cubitum ac semissem. Et inaurabis eam auro purissimo: faciesque illi labium aureum per circuitum, et ipsi labio coronam interrasilem altam digitis quatuor: et super illam, alteram coronam aureolam.

- Lex* vetus auratum labium docet arte novatum;
 10 Assit signatum decus oris pretitulatum,
 Cultus mentalis, pudor, et timor initialis,
 Curia* moralis,* prudentia collateralis.*
 De labio legitur quod in hoc* diadema* politur,*
 Vir quia qui loquitur et agit bene rex redimitur.*
 15 Rusticitas hodie se miscet philosophie,
 Fuscat et ecclesie Martham* pacemque Marie.

Chapter heading I. Persuaseo *B*; Persuasio ad moralitatem *C*, Persuatio ad eloquentiam et ad sapientiam contra ignorantiam *L*, omitted in *O*. The captions Capitulum I, etc. do not appear in any of the five manuscripts. They are left unbracketed for the sake of typographical appearance.

Title of thema. *L*, omitted in *BCO*. The thema itself appears in the margin of *B* but is part of the

text in *CLO*. Variant readings in the thema are not indicated; they are negligible.

9. [L]ex *LO*.
12. Culta *L*; mortalis *O*; colleteralis *C*.
13. hec, corrected hoc *L*; dyadema *B*; pollitur *O*.
14. redimitus *L*.
16. martam *L*, martem *P*.

Thema (last words). coronam, propter quatuor virtutes cardinales, que sunt prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperentia *B* left margin; quatuor digiti signantur quatuor virtutes cardinales *L* right margin; totum istud signat eloquentiam *L* foot of folio 29.

9. *Lex vetus*, Hic ostendit quod habeat intelligi per librum. Unde psalmista: initium sapientie, etc. [*Vulg. psalm.* 110, 10]. Eloquentia sine sapientia est quasi gladius in manu furiosi [cf. Petr. Bles. ep. 18 (Migne 207, col. 67B)] *B* after line 12; quam Moyses tradidit in *Exodo* *L*.—labium, replicationem mense *B*.—arte, grammatica, logica, rethorica, que tres constituunt eloquentiam *L*; fabрили *BL*.—novatum, renovatum *B*.

10. signatum, significatum *B*; per predicta *L*.—decus oris, nobilitatum per sapientiam *BCL*.—pretitulatum, scilicet eloquentia *B*.

11. *Cultus*, assit *CL*.—pudor, bona castitas *B*.—timor initialis, notat quod triplex est timor, scilicet servilis, filialis, et initialis. Servilis est ut servus timet dominum non tamen diligit, filialis est ut filius qui diligit et timet, initialis ut timere deum, unde initium sapientie *L* left margin.

12. *Curia moralis*, congregatio omnium virtutum assit *BC*.—collateralis, a latere stans *B*, assit *CL*.

13. labio, mensa *BCO*; de illa tabula aureata, in *Exodo* *L*.—diadema, corona *BC*.—politur, hornatur *B*, adornatur *CL*; plana efficitur *L*.

14. *Vir*, qui est eloquens orate *B*.—rex redimitur, coronatur pro rege *BL*.

16. *Martham*, per Martham intelligitur vita activa, per Mariam vita contemplativa *L*.

- Mutescunt muse, torpent* velut* ore Meduse,
 Nude, confuse, saxoque rigente* recuse.
 Set quare? queris. Sapiens, procul eicieris.
 20 Si nichil attuleris, demens eris, indigus eris.
 Que lucrative sunt artes sunt modo vive,
 Ut causative,* specierum compositive,*
 Et* celeres* misse que possunt es habuisse,
 Resque foro misse que possunt lucra dedisse.

CAPITULUM II

PERSUASIO* AD SCIENTIAM URBANITATIS ET RELIGIONEM*

- 25 Vectes* iungantur arche circulisque* gerantur.
 Libri promantur,* et carmina digna legantur.
 Artes venetur prudens, nec ab arte vagetur.

17. tepent *B*; velud *BLO*, velud in margin of *C*.
 18. regente *CO*.
 22. cantatem *C*; compoitem *C*; this line is inserted in *L*, specierum troubled the scribe.
 23. Ut *O*; sceleres *L*.
 Chapter heading II. Persuaseo *B*; Persuasio ad scientiam urbanitatis et ad religionem *C*, Persuasio

ad scientiam et urbanitatem et religionem . . . persecutionum hereticorum *L*, omitted in *O*.

25. Pettes corrected Vettes *B*, [V]ectes *L*, Vestes *O*; circelis *B*, and added thus in margin of *L* which shows an erasure in this line.

26. Liba propinantur *C*.

17. muse, poetica dicta *BC*.—Meduse, velud si Medusa esset coram illis et mutaret eos in lapides *L*; meduse que significant ornamenta organica membratim, scilicet duo labia, duos dentes, lingua, palatum, guttur, et pulmo, et trache arteria *B* right margin.

18. Nude, muse *BCLO*.—saxoque, duritia cordis, *BCL*.—recuse, repercusse *BCLO*.

19. quare, mutescunt muse *LO*.—Sapiens, o tu *BC*.

20. attuleris, potes dare *B*.—indigus, pecunie *C*; denariorum *L*; pauper *BC*; egenus *O*.—Si nichil attuleris ibis, Homere, foris *B*.

22. Ut, pro sicut *B*.—causative, leges *BC*; ut lex et artes *L*.—specierum compositive, phisicalis scientie *B*; artes ut medicine *C*; artes ut phisica *L*; species est equivocum unde versus:

Est species logices, est acera grammaticorum,

Estque modus species, species est forma virorum,

Est illud species gratum quod prestat odorum *L* left margin.

23. celeres, per celeritate *L*.—misse, emisse *C*.—es, denarios *BC*.

24. Res, regnant hodie *B*; sunt de foro venali *L*.

25. Vectes, BARRES *B*.—arche, Nota quod legitur sic: facies arcam de lignis cetim, facies etiam coronam auream per circuitum et quatuor circulos aureos, facies vectes de lignis cetim et operies eos auro [*Vulg. exod.* 25, 10–13]. Archa notat scientiam ecclesiasticam de lignis cetim imputrescibilibus, id est de viris sanctis cum Christo regnantibus eternaliter. Quatuor circuli significant quatuor evangelia. Vectes sunt sancti doctores quibus post Christum ecclesia supportatur *B* left margin, *C* right margin, fol. 302 (mutilated), similar in *L*, left margin.

26. Libri, boni *B*; dulcedines scientie *C*.—carmina digna, qui iam ceciderunt, et indigna repella[n]tur *L*.

27. venetur, venatur, sequitur, vestigat et insidiatur. Qui venatur sequitur caute predam suam *B* right margin, similar in *CL*.—ab arte, extra arte *BL*.

- Ars bona dicetur,* set abusio* prava tenetur.
 Ne lex divina comitum stet* sola ruina,
 30 Surgat doctrina, que lapsus sit* medicina.
 Que dampnaverunt antiqui, que perierunt,
 Nunc processerunt:* bona sunt que prava fuerunt.
 Edita sunt annis in paucis *Mira* Iohannis,
 Transversis* pannis promptis* ad bella tirannis.
 35 Sarra molestatur ab Agar, dolet et lacrimatur;
 Set pius* armatur deus ut vindicta sequatur.*
 Quot sunt artifices tot eorum crimina, dices.
 Extrahe* radices que mortis sunt genitrices.
 Strictis nature vitiis volo parcere iure;

28. citetur *P*; abuso *O*.29. stet is inserted in margin of *L*.30. fit *CLO*.32. processerunt *O*.34. Transversis *C*; promptis *B*, protutis *O*.36. prius *B*.35-36. Inserted in left margin *BL*, the last words are mutilated by a rent in *B*.38. extrae *L*.

28. Omnis enim ars, in quantum ars est, bona et de genere bonorum; set abusio mala est *O* right margin.

29. *lex divina*, sacra theologia *CL*.—*comitum*, liberalium artium *BCL*.—*ruina*, per ruinam *B*.

30. *doctrina*, philosophica *B*; artium liberalium *L*.—*lapsus*, casus artium *BCL*.—*medicina*, restauratio *C*; remedium *L*.

31. *Que*, nomina et verba *C*; illa nomina *L*.—*antiqui*, poete *BL*.—*que*, nomina et verba *B*; nomina *C*.—*perierunt*, tunc *C*; tempore antiquorum *L*.

32. *Nunc*, in tempore moderno *C*.—*sunt*, nunc *C*.—*fuerunt*, quondam *B*; apud antiquos *CLO*.

33. *Edita*, visa *B*; demarcata *C*; ostensa *L*.—*Mira*, Mirabilia *BC*.—*Iohannis*, magistri de Gerlandia *C*; compositoris huius libri *L*; autoris *O*.

34. *Transversis*, mutatis *L*; et hoc dico *CLO*.—*pannis*, hominum *B*.—*tirannis*, et hoc dico, *BCLO*; Est ille qui destruit iura posita; et dicitur a tyros grece, quod est angustia latine, et tirus, -ri, et dicitur tirus serpens de quo fit potatio quedam et vocatur .g. TRIACLE

B right margin; tirannus dicitur a tiros grece, angustia latine, unde versus: Unde tirannus erit tua angustia dicens:

Nobilis urbs Parma sic abstulit arma
L right margin.

bella, bellum dicitur de bellus, -a, -um, per contrarium, et reperitur istud adiectivum in sermonibus Oracii: deprensi non bella est fama Treboni [Hor. sat. 1, 4, 114] *L* left margin.

35. *Sarra*, bona mulier, id est ecclesia *L*.—*Agar*, ancilla cum qua cumcubuit *B*; ab ancilla, id est ab infidelibus. Et inde dicuntur Agarteni, id est Tartariei, scilicet ab Agar *L* left margin; inde Agarem, id est Tartari *C*.

37. *Quot*, scilicet in mechanicis *B*.—*artifices*, at dicis esse artes *B*.—*eorum*, esse *L*.

38. *radices*, causas peccandi *BCL*.—*mortis genitrices*, mortalia peccata *B*.

39. Excusat se auctor, dicens: ego nolo reprehendere vitia nature neque sic vitari set in quanto possumus debemus nos tenere mundos; et hoc est quod dicit: strictis nature, etc. *B* left margin.—*Strictis*, coactis *B*; necessariis *C*.—*nature*, ut ire ad cloacam *L*.

- 40 Set tibi sit cure quod partes sint* tibi pure.*
 Caute inungatur* nasus, pupilla regatur,
 Tussis stringatur, sputum deforme tegatur,
 Iustus assuescas,* usus tibi temperet* escas,
 Usu compescas* tibi motus ne juvenescas.*
 45 Oppositum posito logicans fuge more perito;
 Si sapis hoc facito, faciendo victor abito,*
 Testis Aristotiles qui principium* probat yles,
 Qui pueros pugiles acuit ratione viriles.
 Hic* verum sequere positum tibi tale tuere,
 50 Est positum vere Christus positum profiteri.*

40. sunt *O*; cure, *corrected* pure *O*.

41. iungatur *O*.

43. ascescas *O*; conperat, *corrected* temperet *L*.

44. conpescas *L*; iuvenesces *CLO*.

46. habito *O*.

47. principii *C*.

49. Hoc *C*.

50. prophitere *B*.

40. *tibi*, tue *CL*.—*partes*, corporis *BL*; integrales hominis *C*.—*pure*, munde, secundum illud: mundus esto *L*.

41. *inungatur*, SEYT MUSCHE *B*; iungo, -gis *L*.—*pupilla*, unde versus: Averte oculos tuos, etc. [*Vulg. cant.* 6, 4]. Pepigi fedus cum oculis meis [*Vulg. Iob.* 31, 1] *B right margin*; Inpudicus oculus inpudici cordis est nuntius [*cp.* Ps. Baeda *prov.* (Migne 90, col. 1104D)] *O left margin*.

42. *sputum*, CRACHE *B*; sreatio deformis *C*; sreatio seracheniter *L*.

43. *Iustus*, Hoc in assuetudinem ducas esse inter iustos et . . . ens *B*; viris *C*; secundum illud cum bonis ambula *L*.—*assuescas*, TU ACUSTUMES *B*.—*usus tibi temperet escas*, non nimium ultra mensuram comedas *B*; ut habeas ad usum ut comedas cum temperantia *O*, *similar in L*.

44. Tu vetus non ludas cum pueris, ne habearis pro stulto *B*. Niobe habuit septem filios, et significant membra quibus . . . , scilicet frons, oculus, collum, nasus, pes, et pectus . . . *B left margin*.

45. *Oppositum*, contrarium *BCL*; repungnas *O*.—*posito*, vere rei posite *BC*; prime impositioni *L*; prepositi *O*.—*logicans*, mutans rationem *B*; habens materiam logice *C*; tu mutans logicos *L*; tu logicus *O*.

46. *sapis*, sapiens es *B*; si sis sapiens *O*.—*hoc facito*, non concedas oppositum posito *L*.—*faciendo*, et tu, hoc *B*; implendo mandatum dei *L*.—*abito*, recede *BC*.

47. *Testis*, de vero posito *B*; in Topicis *L*.—*Aristotiles*, ab ares, virtus, et sto, stas *C*.—*yles*, primordialis materie rerum, scilicet masse quatuor elementorum *B*; *similar in CL*; hec yle, huius yles *L*.

48. *Qui*, Aristoteles *L*.—*pugiles*, disputantes *BC*; fortes in logica *LO*.—*viriles*, pueros inquam *B*.

49. Vesti[gi]a Christi debemus sequi in omnibus, ergo Christi erit tibi positum *L*.—*verum*, in moralitate *B*.—*tuere*, deffende tibi *B*; defende ad opus tuum *C*.

50. *vere*, in veritate *C*; tale in dietis et in factis *L*.—*profitere*, et tu *B*; confitere *C*.

CAPITULUM III

DE PATIENTIA ET CORONA PREDICATORUM ET FRATRUM MINORUM*

- O* vos doctores legis, fratresque minores,
 Veri cultores, viteque rigore priores,
 Perversis cinicus ego sum, vobis set amicus.
 Si* sum veridicus,* nasum michi crispat iniquus.*
- 55 Est crucis arta* jugis* Francisci* regula iugis,
 Astra petens refugis sine divitiis sine nugis.
 Pro violis unca* lesis ludit saliunca,
 Pro rosula trunca* letatur spina redunca.*
 Quamvis* lugetis spe letitiam retinetis,
 60 Nam pro dumetis celestia regna metetis.*

Chapter heading III. De patientia et corona Predicatorum et Fratrum Minorum exemplo Sancti Francisci *CLO* (*very much faded in O*).

51. [O] *L*.

54. Set *O*; mendicus *C*; iniquus *B*.

55. arcta *C*, arta corrected arcta in margin of *L*; iugis *CLO*; francisci *L*.

57. urtica *P*.

58. trunca *O*; redeunca, corrected redunca *O*, redunta *P*.

59. Hic qui *P*.

60. metis corrected metetis *B*.

Chapter III, *O vos*. In hoc libro de morali scientia verum debes defendere, scilicet Christum, et ponitur Christus patientie in hac satira per Fratres Minores et maxime per sanctum Franciscum qui stimati Christi in corpore suo portavit, et tangit finem quem sequitur, per quem habebit regnum eternum pro asperitatibus que patiuntur in hoc mundo, et hoc est: o vos, etc. *B right margin*.

51. *doctores legis*, Predicatores *CLO*; et verbis et exemplis *B*.—*minores*, causa humilitatis *B*.

52. *Veri*, Christi *BCL*.—*vite*, bone *L*.—*rigore*, per; rigiditate *B*.

53. *Perversis*, hominibus *C*; malignis *L*.—*cinicus*, canicus *BC*, caninus *L*; reprehensor *O*; Cinos, canis, unde cinifes, grosse musce. Cincus a cinos grece, quod est canis latine *B left margin*.—*amicus*, cum boni facis *L*.

54. *veridicus*, de perversis vera dicens *BL*.—*crispat*, corrugit, id est, contempnit me per crispationem nasi sui *B*, similar in *CL*; RAIMFLERZ *L*.

55. *crucis*, penitentiae *BCL*.—*arta*, stricta *L*; Arta est via que ducit ad vitam [*Vulg. Matth. 7, 14*] *B*.—*jugis*, ponderibus *BCLO*; Secundum illud: honus meum leve et iugum meum suave [*Vulg. Matth. 11, 30*] *B left margin*.—*Francisci*, Fratrum Minorum *BL*.—

iugis, assidue vel iugiter *B*; assidua *CL*; hic et hec iugis et hoc iuge *C*.

56. *Astra*, celi *B*; celestia *C*.—*petens*, regula dico *BCLO*.—*refugis*, despectis; refugitivis *B*; divitiis dico; refugus, -ga, -gum *C*.—*nugis*, frivolis istius mundi *L*.

57. Hic dicit patientiam Fratrum Minorum per similitudinem sumptam a floribus et est confirmatio eorum in fine et notandum quod per saliuncam intelliguntur divites, per violas confessores, per rosas martires; et dicitur saliunca quasi saliens unca, herba quedam spinosa crescens in campis, et hoc est quod dicit: pro violis *B right margin*.—*unca*, curva *BCLO*.—*lesis*, martirizatis *C*.—*ludit*, letatur *BL*.—*saliunca*, heresis *CL*; CHACH ECRAPE, WIN *B*.

58. *trunca*, truncata *BL*.—*spina*, dives homo *B*.—*redunca*, bis curvata *BL*; Ovidius: rostroque redunco, dicit Ovidius magnus [*Ov. met. 12, 562*] *B*.

59. *lugetis*, o vos fratres in penitentia *B*; o predicatorum *C*.—*spe*, celestis gaudii *B*.—*letitiam*, tristitia vestra vertetur in gaudium *O*.

60. *Nam*, pro quia *CL*.—*dumetis*, asperitatibus huius seculi *B*; hoc dumetum est letus vir domini . . . *O*.—*metetis*, recolligetis *B*; colligetis *LO*; meto, -tis, messui *C*.

CAPITULUM IV

DE DUPLICI GENEROSITATE PARENTUM ET VIRTUTUM ET DE PRELATIS QUI
DANT* CONSANGUINEIS* SUIS ET DE CAUSIS* DANDI

Dives* mansuetus,* generosus, et* hospite letus,
Est celo fretus, celi factore facetus.
Tales esse viri celi meruere saphiri,
Effectu* miri tellure poloque potiri.
65 Nomine Natalis es* natus ad ardua talis;
Te lex moralis docuit, te lex genialis.*
Sermo vulgaris ait et ratio popularis:
Hic est de raris qui sacris* convenit aris.
Aaron vas olei* gerat et sal vas Elisei*;

Chapter heading IV. qui dant omitted in B; consanguineis C; causa B.

61. [Dives L; mavifuetus L; est L.

64. Efectu L.

65. est CO.

Chapter IV. Hic commendantur nobiles, scilicet qui nobiles sunt genere quantum ad seculum et moribus quantum ad deum, qui ornati sunt virtutibus nam tales sunt lapides pretiosi ex quibus Ierusalem celestis convenitur; et hoc est: dives. Persuasio ad largitatem B left margin; In ac satira commenduntur generosi et faceti, et reprehenduntur qui sunt nobiles genere et ignobiles animo et econverso et nobiles animo et ignobiles genere O left margin.

61-62. Habeat in adversis auxilia qui comodat in secundis, id est prosperis. comodo, -das, PRESTER, acomodo, -das, DONER B left margin.

61. mansuetus, ad manum suetus, id est benignus B.—hospite, hospitalitate BCLO.

62. celo, celesti gloria utitur, beneficio celi B.—factore, a deo BCL; Christi O.—facetus, bene instructus BCL.

63. Tales, divites BC.—saphiri, preciose gemme; hic antrax, -eis, fedim B.

65-66. These two lines are inserted in the margin of BL.

68. digne P.

69. oley B; Elisey BO, Elysey L.

64. Effectu, per opera B; per effectum tale L.—miri, miribiles B; illi dico CLO.—tellure, beneficio terre BO.—polo, beneficio celi B.—potiri, ad utendum; potendum B; ad potiendum, meruere scilicet C; ad potendum O.

65. Natalis, proprium nomen, officialis Parisius B; oficialis Parisius L.—natus . . . talis, scilicet nobilis genere et animo O.

66. lex moralis, ius positivum B.—genialis, naturalis BL; a deo nature LO; de genesis B.

67. vulgaris, vulgi B; omnium C; communis lingua L.

68. raris, quia omne rarum est pretiosum et carum O.—qui, conveniens est vel dignus conficere corpus Christi B, similar in CL.

69. Aaron, Aaron interpretatur mons fortis et signat quilibet predicator O left margin.—vas olei, cor mundum misericordie et pietatis BL.—sal, sapientiam BCLO.—Elisei, Per Eliseum interpretatur ecclesia dei, autem Eliseus quasi dei mei salus O right margin, similar in B.

- 70 Rem non signa* rei portate* viri Galilei.*
 Agmen* pontificum* cognatos* cernit amicum;
 Non te mendicum novit,* cui* sidus* iniquum.*
 Si concedatur* quod stella nocens oriatur,
 Stella refrenatur ratio si predominatur.
- 75 Donant pontifices* aliis, forsan michi,* dices;
 Mittunt multiplices clamides* tunicasque trilices.
 Que sunt diverse causas hic aspice* per se:
 Hic dat perverse meretrix quod postulat Herse,
 Dona set hii vendunt, hii* donis dona rependunt,*
 80 Hii* se defendunt* et in hostes Egida* tendunt.

70. singna *L*; portare *CLO*; Galiley *BLO*.

71. angmen *L*; pontificum *B*; cognatus *L*.

72. notuit *C*, nocuit *LOP*; tibi *C*; sydus *P*; iniquum *BCP*.

73. consedatur *L*.

70. *Rem*, misericordiam et sapientiam *BCL*; signatum per vas olei [*Vulg. num.* 4, 9] et vas salis [*Vulg. IV reg.* 2, 20] *L*.—*virī Galilei*, vos dico transmigrantes a peccatis, id est prelati. Et interpretatur Galilea volubilitas vel transmigration a vitiis ad virtutes *B right margin*, similar in *CL*.

71. *agmen*, cum filii Aaron significant pontifices qui ungebantur oleo lux cecis ubique ieiunis unctio membris; hiis membris pontifex infundit *B left margin*.—*pontificum*, episcoporum *BL*.—*cognatos*, suos nepotulos *B*.—*amicum*, amicabiliter, dando eis *B*.

72. *Non*, o quicumque cernit *L*.—*mendicum*, o tu scolaris quicumque es *B*, *novit*, vel nocuit *B*.—*sidus iniquum*, tempus natale vel iniqua constellatio *C*; cognati poterit nomine culpa tegi; Iuvenalis: Quid est dives? Sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati [*Juv.* 7, 200] *B right and left margins*.

73. *concedatur*, in fide nostra, quasi diceret non conceditur *B*; set non conceditur hodie in fide catholica *L*.

74. *Stella*, constellatio *BCLO*.—*refrenatur*, abicitur, reprimitur *B*.—*ratio*, ita dico *BCL*.—*predominatur*, habet dominium in aliquo *B*; si habeas potestatem tui ipsius *L*.

75. *Donant*, quod *L*.—*pontifices*, prelati *O*.—*aliis*, quamvis non tibi *B*.

75. pontifices *B*; michi forsan corrected forsan michi *L*.

77. accipe *CO*.

79. hi *L*; this line is inserted in the margin of *C*.

80. Hi *L*; deffendunt *B*; egia *O*.

76. *mittunt*, etc. Hic respondet ad anti-phoram, id est ad tactam obiectionem, et iungit causas dandi et modos: quidam dant meretricibus, quidam vendunt sicut prelati, quidam dant ut plus detur eis, quidam datum est eis *B left margin*; isti habentes *B*; prelati *O*.—*clamides tunicasque trilices*, HAUBERC, TREREDUBLE. Hic et hec et hoc trilex, -eis, filus de tribus maneriis, de tris et licium, -cii, quod est filus, et proprie dicitur HAUBERC; preciosas, fortes *B right margin*.

77. *diverse*, cause dandi *BC*.—*hic*, in hoc capitulo *O*.—*per se*, separatim *BCLO*.

78. *Hic*, quidam episcopus *L*; prelatus *O*.—*meretrix*, quasi via intrica *B*.—*quod*, illud *C*; hoc *L*.—*Herse*, Per Herse intelligitur quamlibet meretricem perverse [*Ov. met.* 2, 809] *O right margin*; proprium nomen, hec Herse, -ses *C*; illa vetula *L*.

79. *Dona* *vendunt*, ad habendum magis *BL*; *hii* *hii*, alii alii *CL*.—*donis*, pro donis *O*.—*rependunt*, retro dant quia nolunt esse ingrati *BL*.

80. *Hii*, alii *L*.—*se defendunt*, per dona sua *C*.—*in hostes*, contra inimicos per dona *L*.—*Egida*, defensionem vel scutum *CLO*; accusativus, Egedem vel Egida *L*.—*tendunt*, opponunt *BL*.

Monstris obicitur clipeus quo tutius* itur,
 Ensis detegitur si Gorgonis os reperitur.
 Vincit monstra dare, da si tu vis superare;
 Per dare regnare poteris celoque* volare.

CAPITULUM V

COMMENDATIO NOBILIIUM DATORUM ET DE CAUSIS DANDI*

85 Sunt* aliqui titi,* dignis donare periti,
 Et bene nutriti, quadra virtute politi.*
 Quid* videas dando, cui,* quantum, qualia, quando.
 Accipe gratando,* quod vis dare da properando.
 Gloria Fulconis fulget basis aurea donis,

81. tusius *L.* 84. poterisque celo *P.*

Chapter heading V. Commendatio nobilium datorum et de circumstantiis dandi *CL*, omitted or erased in *O*.

85. [S]unt *L*; tyti *L*.

81. *Monstris*, tyrannis, divitibus *B*; monstruosis hominibus *C*.—*clipeus*, deffensio dandi *BCL*.—*quo*, dono *B*; clipeo *CO*.—*itur*, ubique *L*.—Consilium horrendum celo capita alta ferentes [Verg. *Aen.* 3, 678–9] *B right margin*.

82. *Ensis*, donatio *BCL*.—*Gorgonis*, Gorgon erat quoddam que dicebatur mutare homines in lapides *O right margin*; divitis monstruosi; a ge, terra, et orche, COLERE *B*.—*os*, vultus terribilis *B*; vultus divitis illius *C*.

83. *monstra*, tyrannos *B*. *dare*, datio *BCL*; donatio *O*; hoc dare nomen indeclinabile *L*.—*superare*, inimicos *O*.

84. Ovidius: Munera, crede michi, capiunt hominesque deosque [Ov. *ars.* 3, 653] *B right margin*, *O left margin*.—*Per dare*, per donationem poteris in ter[r]is *L*.

Chapter V. In hac satira reprehendit auctor pravos et perversos datores et commendantur largi et introducuntur primo quedam in exemplum largitatis quia large conversationis et honeste erant, postea nominantur circumstantie que debent observari in dando, et in fine huius satire ponitur effectus largitatis, et hoc est: *sunt aliqui*. Circumstantie largitatis attenduntur in ista satira *B left margin*.

86. After this line, *B* has the following superfluous line, Quid videas dando quod vis dare da properando, marked vacat.

87. quod *O*; tibi *C*.

88. gradando *L*.

85. *aliqui*, datores *L*.—*titi* nobiles *BCL*; boni datores *O*; Titus fuit frater Vespasiani qui fuit rex Ierusalem et delevit Iudeam in ultionem Christi *BC right margin*.—*donare*, ad dandum *B*.

86. *nutriti*, sunt curaless *L*.—*quadra*, Unde Magister: Miserum est aliena vivere quadra [Juv. 5, 2] *B right margin*; quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus, scilicet prudentia, iustitia, fortitudine, temperantia *B*, similar in *CO*.—*politi*, PLAMEZ *C*.

87. *videas*, debes dare *B*; debeas dare *L*.—*cui*, persone *B*.—*quantum*, aut magis aut minus *B*.—*qualia*, bona aut mala *B*.

88. Seneca: Quietissime viverent homines si duo verba tollerent de medio, id est meum et tuum [Ps. Sen. *mor.* 98] *B left margin*.—*Accipe gratando*, quod debes accipere, id est cum gratiarum actione *B*; melius accipitur quod datur absque mora *B left margin*. [For similar proverbs see J. Werner, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg, 1912 (*Sammlung mittel-lateinische Texte*, 3), p. 35 (23), p. 76 (64)].

89. *Fulconis*, magistri Fulconis Basset *B*; Fulconis basis, episcopi Londoniensis *O*.—*basis*, OREYNE, FUNDEMENT *B*; calumpna *C*.—*donis*, suis *B*, ad dona danda *B right margin*.

- 90 Versibus altisonis* magni condigna Maronis.
 Dandis exsertus* bibit hoc* de fonte Robertus,
 Quem sapit ut certus, et in omni iure disertus.*
 Causas predandi dare differt gratia dandi;
 Dat portas pandi dator, artem tradit amandi.

CAPITULUM VI

DE MALITIA MUNDANA QUE DONIS ET PATIENTIA VINCITUR*

- 95 Hinc* Amalechita* te percutit, hinc Ninivita.*
 Robora contrita vitiis gemit* Israelita.*
 Dum peregrinaris cunctis* in pace loquaris,*
 Ne, dum rixaris fatue, male percutiaris.
 Tuti latrantes in vico sint* spatiantes,*
 100 Ludant infantes tibi nulla molesta patrantes.

90. altissonis *O*.
 91. excertis, *corrected* excertus *C*, excertus *L*;
omitted in C but added by glossator.
 92. disertus *L*; *this line is followed by the words*,
 Vivat monstra, *marked* vacat *in L*.
 Chapter heading VI. *Almost illegible in O*.

90. Alludit expositionem [sic] vocabili
 nam f[ulco] vocabatur Fulco Basset quasi
 basis aurea, id est per bonam famam, vel
 basis dicitur quasi sustentio *B left margin*.—
Versibus altisonis, gravi stilo compositis *BC*;
 grandiloquis *C*.—*condigna*, valde digna *B*;
 gloria Fulconis *O*.—*Maronis*, Virgilii *BCL*.

91. *Dandis*, ad dandum *B*.—*exsertus*,
 paratus *BCO*; extero, -teris, -ui *C*.—*fonte*,
 largitatis *BCL*.—*Robertus*, de Bonewelle *B*;
 magister *BC*; alludit cognomine *L*.

92. *Quem*, fontem *BL*.—*ut*, sicut *C*.—
iure, in civili et canonico *L*.

93. *predandi*, de ROBBER *B*; de ROBERER
L.—*dare*, datio *CL*; donatio prolongat *O*.—
dandi, largitatis *BL*.

94. *Dat portas pandi*, contra ipsum
 dantem, id est aperiri *L*.—*portas*, regis *B*.—
pandi, coram te *B*.—*amandi*, ipsum *BL*.

Chapter VI. In ac satira agitur de malitia
 mundana et reprehenditur malitia huius
 mundi, et commendatur patiente, et fit invi-
 tatio ad patientiam *O left margin*; Seneca:

95. [H]inc *L*; amalecita *corrected* amalechita *B*,
 amalethica *L*; niminita *B*, ininitirica *L*.
 96. gemet *L*; yrraelita *O*.
 97. cum cunctis *P*.
 97-98. *These two lines are transposed in L*.
 99. sunt *C*; speciantes *O*.

Quid est homini inimicissimum? alter homo
 [Ps. Sen. mor. 5] *B left margin*.

95. Amalechite fuerunt persecutores fide-
 lium, Nimivite [sic] persecutores Israelis.
 Ninive interpretatur germen vel granum pul-
 critudinis. Hic agit auctor de malitia mun-
 dana que potest vinci donis et patientia, et
 ostendit quomodo bonus homo dolet videns se
 constipatum malitiis humanis et quomodo
 pugnat contra illas per patientiam scilicet
 sapienter sustinendo *B left margin*.—*Hinc*
 . . . *hinc*, ex alia parte . . . hac parte *L*.—
Amalechite, malus populus, de Amalee *B*.

96. *Robora*, suas virtutes *B*.—*Israelita*,
 vir videns deum, ut Thebias *O*; hic et hec is,
 vir; ra, videns; el, deus *C*.

97. *peregrinaris*, peregre proficisceris
BCL.

98. *rixaris*, loquaris, id est litiges *B*.—
fatue, stulte *C*.

99. *Tuti*, a vobis *B*.—*latrantes*, canes
BCL.—*spatiantes* vagantes *BCL*.

100. *Ludant*, in pace pro te *L*.—*patrantes*,
 illi dico non facientes *B*.

- Degere tu noli solus, quia ve tibi soli!
 Damni* sive doli poteris succumbere* moli.
 Corde tene memori prebere locum seniori,
 Et non maiori tantum,* set sepe minori.
 105 Est homo mundanus quasi centimanus,* quasi Ianus
 Mendax et vanus, violato iure prophanus.*
 Causantur* laici* qui iuris sunt inimici,
 Hiis* dantur vici, campi, colles* et aprici.*
 Pauper deprimitur,* teritur,* pauper quia scitur*;
 110 Nudus despicitur,* baculo ferroque* feritur.*
 Fit, modo Nasonis, mutatio vi rationis,
 Sub galee* conis fuit hic feritate* leonis.
 Gorgonis anguicome modo monstra vigent nisi come,

102. Dampni *BCL*; subcumbere *C*.

104. semper *P*.

105. sentimanus *L*.

106. profanus *C*, prohanus *L*.

107. Causantur *C*; layci *O*.

108. His *LO*; et colles *L*; aprisi *L*.

109. despicitur *P*; teritur *B*; scietur *L*.

110. deprimitur *P*; ferro et *C*; fecitur *O*.

112. galie *L*; fere corrected feritate *L*, lenitate *O*.

101. Ovidius: Semper habet Piladem aliquem qui curat Orestem [Ov. *rem.* 589] *B* left margin.—*Degere*, manere *BCL*.—*ve*, Salomon: Ve soli: quia si ceciderit, non habet sublevantem [Vulg. *eccles.* 4, 10] *BO*.

102. *succumbere*, vivendo solus *B*.—*moli*, ponderositati *BC*.

103. *Corde*, quia dictum est alibi *L*.—*seniori*, vel sensato *B*; hic *L*.

104. *minori*, causa curialitatis et reverentie *B*.

105. *homo mundanus*, qui sapit mundum *B*; homo nihil amans nisi mundum *O*.—*centimanus*, Briareus [Verg. *Aen.* 6, 287], Gigas [Ov. *am.* 2, 1, 12] *B*.—*Ianus*, bifrons, ipse respicit usque quaque, id est videns ante et retro [cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7, 180] *B*.

106. *vanus*, vacuus a veritate *B*.—*violata*, spreto *BLO*.—*prophanus*, quasi procul a fano, id est templo *C*.

107. *Causantur laici*, id est ignorantes iura et canonica integra. Lucrantur quicquid volunt et boni clerici expelluntur et nichil lucrantur quia dedignantur garrere et ideo nichil acquirunt, iuxta illud: garula lingua placet pauper ubique jacet; et alibi: candida

denigrant et nigra loquendo dealbant [cp. Ov. *met.* 11, 314] *B* at top of fol. 4r.—*inimici*, quia pervertunt iura *BCL*.

108. *Hiis*, laicis *C*; pervertentibus iura *L*.—*vici*, ruis *B*; maniones *O*.—*aprici*, delectabiles colles, aprieus, -ca, -cum, idem quod amenus, -na, -num, ab aperio, aperis *B*.

109. *scitur*, esse *BC*; cognoscatur pro paupere *L*.

111. *Fit modo*, Dicit auctor quod tanta malitia regnat in mundo quod homines possunt dici mutari secundum Ovidium in lupos et in alia bruta animalia, per proprietates pessimas quas habent moderni, seiores et crudeliores sunt lupis, et hoc est quod dicit *B* right margin.—*mutatio*, quam dicit Naso fuisse *B*.—*vi rationis*, et non vi nature *BCL*.—*rationis*, mistice, et transumptive, scilicet etice, *B*.

112. *galee*, dignitatis *CL*.—*conis*, summatibus *BCL*; hic conus est sumitas galee *O* left margin.—*hic*, aliquis dives *BL*.

113. *Gorgonis*, Medusa, id est avaritiae *B*.—*anguicome*, habentis comas serpentinas *BCLO*.—*vigent*, sunt in vita, durant hodie *B*.—*come*, curiale, *CUREYS*. hic et hec comis, et hoc come, curiale *B* right margin.

- Des* donum pro me, ne sis* petra,* premia prome.
 115 Culmen* papalis cathedre* quatit* imperialis*
 Vis armata malis effrenis et* exitialis.*
 Prelia crudescunt, et corda metu lapidescunt.
 Insidie crescunt, peregrini iure timescunt.
 Exoptes fieri patiens vitamque mereri,*
 120 Pronus preberi, patrie sub lege teneri.
 Vertunt in lapides mundani cuncta nisi* des.
 Cedit Pelides,* monstis succumbit* Atrides.
 Totum pro parte pono* quod habetur ab arte,
 In formam* carte varia ratione resarte.
 125 Insignis* pietas, si qua est modo, vix ea metas

114. Des *corrected* sit, aut ego dem B, Sit, *with a gloss* vel des L, Sic O; sim O; petta L.

115. culmine B; chathedre L; patet C, quatet B; imperialis CO.

115-116. *inserted in left margin of B.*

116. et *omitted in L*; excicialis O.

114. *petra*, immobilis, stupefactus et victus, scilicet timore B *right margin*.—*premia*, dona BC.—*promē*, demonstra B; ostende diviti L.

115. *Culmen*, domini pape altitudinem B.—*quatit*, commovet L.—*imperialis*, imperii B.

116. *Vis*, violentia B.—*effrenis*, indomita B.

117. *Prelia*, Dicit quomodo nos debemus gerere inter malos homines quoniam patienter et humiliter debemus esse et obediētes austeris et hominibus pessimis, ut sic possimus evadere manus eorum quia dicit apostolus: Humiliamini sub potenti manu [Vulg. I Petr. 5, 6] B *right margin*.—*crudescunt*, crudelia fiunt B; crudelia fiunt L.—*lapidescunt*, indurantur ad modum lapidis L; rigent B.

118. *Insidie*, multimodi L.—*peregrini*, extranei B.—*iure*, de C.—*timescunt*, hodie B.

119. *Exoptes*, remedium, o homo B; non sis talis suple L *left margin*; optate debes L.—*vitam*, eternam B; bonam et non mortem per crudelitatem L.—*mereri*, promereri scilicet a spoliatoribus B.

120. *Pronus*, humilis BCL.—*preberi*, et exoptes BL.—*patrie*, in proprie L.—*teneri*, exoptes B.

119. meriri O.

121. cuncta si L.

122. pelides, *corrected* pelides, B; succumbit CL.

123. pono *omitted in C but added in a gloss*.

124. forma, *corrected* formam B.

125. Insignis L.

121. *Vertunt*, Hic ostenditur effectus malitie quoniam nisi des mutaberis in lapidem, scilicet propter stuporem, quoniam reges, milites, et fere omnes alii vacant avaritie. Per Atridem reges, per Pelidem milites intelligimus B *right margin*.

122. *Pelides*, Achilles CO; bonus miles BL.—*monstis*, divitibus, vitiis mundi B.—*succumbit*, monstis, id est divitibus B.—*Atrides*, ille magnus dominus sicut Agamemnon et Menolaus qui fuerunt filii Atrēi O.

123. *Totum*, Respondet ad antiphoram. Posset obici: o magister, quare dicis, omnes sunt tales? Respondet magister et dicit: verum est, set ego pono totum pro parte, quia licet istud facere in arte B *right margin*; sinedochitatio, cum dico mundani, scilicet indeterate.—*arte*, grammatica BCL.

124. *carte*, libri presentis B.—*resarte*, composite, id est reducte B; resarcio, resarsi, resartum B *left margin*; *carte* dico, renovate, cum sit satiricus L; constructe et formate O.

125. Prologo sequitur quod pietas non habet locum, et si habet, vix habet; et tangit quatuor etates a quatuor generibus metallorum denominatas, auream, argenteam, eream, ferream B *right margin*.—*Insignis*, nobilis CL.—*qua*, aliqua O.—*ea*, pietas CL.—*metas*, manciones, sedes B; status firmos CL.

- Figit,* quas spretas hec ferrea preterit etas.
 Leges immutant,* pape decreta refutant,
 Artes confutant, quibus urbes menia nutant.*
 Da cito, si qua geris, si tarderis* morieris,
 130 Et sic faustus eris si tu tantum spolieris.
 Sedibus electos dampnant,* revocantque reiectos,
 Dignos* despectos faciunt, tenuesque refectos.*
 Surgens et residens homo te circumspice ridens;
 Hoc fac, esto videns quid agas, vitiosa recidens.
 135 Papam nemo terat morsu qui celica sperat,
 Nam sibi collaterat sanctos si quis bene querat;
 Sic michi romipete dicunt. Vos* ergo cavete,

126. Fignat, *corrected* Figit *C*.
 127. inmutant *CL*.
 128. mutant *CO*.
 129. tarderis, *explained in margin* vel cunteris *B*,
 cunteris *CLO*.

131. dampnant *O*.
 132. Dingnos *L*; reffectos *B*.
 137. nos *O*.

126. *quas*, metas *BCL*.—*spretas*, despectas *O*.—*ferrea*, quia ultima et dura *L*; non pia *B*.—*estas*, quia hodie non est pietas *L*.

127. *immutant*, homines mundani, id est malo modo mutant *B*.—*decreta*, iudicia decretorum *L*.

128. *Artes*, liberales *L*.—*confutant*, mundani, id est confundunt *B*; destruant *CL*.—*urbes*, continens pro contento *BL*.—*nutant*, CHANCELUNT, inclinant se, ad honorem quarum artium *B*; humiliant se *L*; obediunt *O*; Nuto dō signum notuque quando cado *CL*.

129. Et quia vides mundum turbari per iniquos, da cito ut sic possis evadere manus impiorum *B right margin*.—*qua*, aliqua *LO*.—*tarderis*, moreris *B*; morieris *L*.—*morieris*, haberis vilis sicut mortuus *C*; per mundanum *L*.

130. *faustus*, felix *BCLO*.—*spolieris*, a pecunia et non a vita *BC*.

131. *Sedibus* etc. Hic convertit auctor sermonem ad clerum et maxime ad conventuales ecclesias quoniam quidam claustrales qui semper gaudent litigare pervertunt totum ordinem et personam electam a seniori parte despiciunt, indoctum et insipientem eligunt, et hoc est quod dicit: sedibus *B right margin*.—*Sedibus*, ad sedes episcopales *B*; chathedris

O.—*dampnant*, mundani *BCLO*.—*reiectos*, indignos *B*; repudiatos *CL*.

132. *Dignos*, cathedris *B*.—*despectos*, dampnatos *B*.—*faciunt*, mundani *B*.—*tenues*, pauperes *BCL*.—*refectos*, divites pro donis, vel divites pauperes *B*.

133. *Surgens*, huc et usque *L*.—*residens*, sedens *B*.—*ridens*, cum gaudio *B*; in prosperitate *L*.

134. *videns*, percipiens *L*.—*agas*, debeas facere *B*.—*recidens*, a te, amputans *B*, amputans *O*; prospere *C*.

135. *Papam* etc. Hic excusatur dominus papa quod ipse non potest compescere malitiam mundanam et quod propter hoc non debet detrahi nec debet reprehendi *B left margin*.—*terat*, detrahere debeat *L*; medeat *O*.—*morsu*, detractione lingue *BL*.—*celica sperat*, qui vult salvari *B*.

136. *sibi*, papa *CL*.—*collaterat*, ASCOS-TEIET *B*; sociat *C*; congregat *L*.—*sanctos*, ut cardinales *BCL*.—*querat*, recolat *B*; veritatem *L*.—Lucanus: Veios habitante Camillo illic Roma fuit [Lucan. 5, 28–9] *B right margin*.

137. *romipete*, CORURS DE ROME *B*; CURURS DE ROME *C*; cursores Rome *LO*.—*vos*, o mundani *L*.

Nec* Rome sprete contraria scuta tenete.
 Ajax pugnator,* Maro vivat pacis amator,
 140 Presbiter orator, agri studiosus arator;
 Ut docet ethica,* dicta politica* dantur amica,
 Hiis* economica* iungo, monostica non inimica.

CAPITULUM VII

COMMENDATIO ROME IN HIIS* QUI SERVANT IURA URBIS*

Romam* commendo, tamen hic* aliquid reprehendo;
 Lilia defendo,* spinas tribulosque* trahendo.*

138. Ne *C*.139. pugnator *CLO*.141. etica *O*; pollitica *L*.142. His *CO*; echonomica *BCL*.Chapter heading VII. his *L*; illegible in *O*.143. [R]omam *L*; hic inserted in *L*.144. deffendo *B*; tribulos et *L*; traendo *L*.

138. *Rome sprete*, legi romane *BL*; vel Rome sedis apostolice *B*.—*contraria scuta*, contrarias deffensiones *B*.

139. *Aiax*, bonus miles vivat *B*; quilibet miles *O*; quantum ad politicam *L*.—*Maro*, Virgilius clericus *L*; Virgilius *O*; ille bonus poeta *C*; quantum ad ethicam *L*.—*amator*, quilibet faciat quod suum est et non detractat proprie *B*.

140. *Presbiter*, vivat, quantum ad monosticam *L*.—*orator*, in ecclesia *B*.—*arator*, rusticus, quantum ad milites [sic] *B*; quantum ad echonomicam *L*.

141. *Ut docet*, . . . notandum quod tres sunt partes etice, id est moralis scientia, scilicet politica que docet regere civitatem et dicitur a polis quod est enim civitas; economica, id est dispensatio que docet curare familiam, et dicitur ab economos quod est dispensatio; monostica que docet unumquemque servare religionem et dicitur unius conservatam, a monos, quod est unum, et ycos, quod est custos in monostica, quasi unius custos *B* top of fol. 4v.—*ethica*, moralis scientia quantum ad Maronem *C*; quantum ad ethicum, ab ethis, mos, et ycos, custos *L*.—*dicta politica*, civilia, quantum ad clericos, a polis, civitas, quia miles debet munire civitates *B*; precepta custodientia civitates, a polis, civitas, et icos, custos *C*.—*amica*, amicabilia *BL*.

142. *echonomica*, ab echonomos quod est expendere, docet enim curare familiam quan-

tum ad rusticos *B*, similar in *CL*.—*monostica*, a monos, unum, et ycos, custos; docet enim homines curare se spiritos in religione *B*, similar in *CL*.—*non inimica*, immo amicabilia *L*.

Chapter VII. Commendatio Rome secundum dignitatem suam, reprehendendo tamen quedam que digna sunt reprehensione, defendendo bonos et extirpendo spinas, id est divites pessimos et tribulos, id est vulgus malum et viles et pauperes qui superbi sunt. Postea probat auctor quod Roma debet oriri superba duplici ex causa per leonem et aquilam. Postea dicit laudando quod Roma est quasi habitatum a superis et reprehendit illos qui contempnunt papam et dignitatem eius et subiciunt se peccatis mortalibus sicut homicide et consumptores, et sic finitur hec satira *B* top of fol. 4v, line 3; Juvenalis [sic]:

Non erat hic populus, quem pax tranquilla iuvaret,

Quem sua libertas inmotis pasceret armis [Lucan. 1, 171–2] *B* left margin.

143. *Romam*, romanam legem; id est Romanos *B*; romanum populum *C*; civitatem *L*.—*hic*, Roma *C*.—*aliquid*, scilicet malos *B*.

144. *Lilia*, bonos homines *CL*.—*spinas*, malos et perversos, divites *BL*.—*trahendo*, reprehendo *B*; extirpando *CL*.

- 145 Forma leonina* Rome, virtus aquilina,
 Ex specie gemina surgit cervice supina;
 Est quasi stellatum celum superis habitatum,
 Orbi prelatum diffuso* per dominatum.
 Quidam papatum spernunt sanctumque senatum,*
 150 Tendunt predatum vicinos tecta crematum.

CAPITULUM VIII

COMMENDATIO ROME PER NOMINIS INTERPRETATIONEM ET LAUS
 SANCTI* PETRI*

Urbs* fera* mansuescas,* ut* maior ad omnia crescas,
 Bellum compescas, et pacis amore* quiescas.
 Presit .a. cum Roma, tunc morum fertur aroma;
 Roma,* soni coma quod vult, fuge* criminis* oma.

145. leonina, corrected leonia B.

148. diffusio O.

149. Inserted in the left margin of B.

Chapter heading VIII. Beati L; et laus Sancti Petri omitted in C, the whole title omitted in O.

145. leonina, quia sancta est ad modum leonis; id est murorum Rome B.—*acquilina*, quia aquila depicta est in vexillum L; in vexillo romani imperatoris; tres pares aquilas et B; regina C.

146. specie gemina, leonis et aquile BCL.—*surgit*, per superba B.—*supina*, superba BL; elevata B.—Est fucus musca, inest pravus color et fraus B left margin.

147. stellatum celum, Roma est B.—*superis*, prelatis et cardinalibus B.

148. Orbi, toti mundo CL.—*prelatum*, valde lata; ante latum B; celum latissimum C.—*diffuso*, largo B; largitio O.—*dominatum*, dominationem mundi B.

149. Quidam, Romani B; apud Roman L.—*papatam*, dominationem pape, ex parte cleri B; dignitatem ecclesie L.—*senatum*, Christiani seniores, sanctam congregationem, ex parte laicorum B; sancta congregatio ex parte urbis regentis civitatem et leges L.

150. Tendunt, quidam C.—*predatum*, ad vicinos suos B; ad predandum CL.—*tecta*, vicinorum BCLO.—*crematum*, ad cremandum BCL.

151. [U]tbs L; nero C; mansuetas corrected mansuescas O; vir corrected ut in margin of C.

152. amare C.

154. Romi corrected Roma C; fugit corrected fuge O; certius corrected criminis B.

Chapter VIII. Ponitur enim .a. huic dictioni Roma. Et dicitur a oma quasi dilectio morum, et est species aromatica et sic debet esse bene mongerata. Postea laudat auctor Romam per bonum Petrum et admonet ut Roma diligat Petrum, id est firmitatem fidei; et in fine huius satire reprehendit auctor prelatos simoniales et postea ponit temperamentum reprehensionis, et hoc est quod dicit B left margin.

151. Urbs fera, Roma BLO.—*mansuescas*, mansuesca fias BL; nunc velis ma[n]suescere O.—*maior*, laus beati Petri C.—*ad omnia crescas*, per pacem BCL.

152. Bellum, tuum B.—*compescas*, nunc compescere velis O; o Roma; retineas L.—*quiescas*, nunc quiescere velis O.

153. Presit, preordinetur B.—.a., hec littera .a. O.—*morum*, virtutum BCL.—*aroma*, redolentia quasi aeris oma, id est bonus odor C; fragrantia, suavitas redolens B.

154. soni, nominis tui; lucet quod tractim sonat B; vocabuli tui L.—*coma*, distinctio BL; diffinitio O; interpretatio L; hoc coma [=comma] B.—*quod*, aroma C.—*criminis*, peccati B.—*oma*, est proprie fetor intestinorum; fetorem; hoc oma B.

- 155 Dilige victorem Petrum quo sumis* honorem,
 Introductorem celi, Simonis domitorem.
 Huius vota* Magi non complent* menia Pagi,
 Omnis arena* Tagi, Mare Rubrum, regnaque* Lagi.
 Natis Egisti dantur patrimonia* Christi.
- 160 Nudo nil isti socio, prelate, dedisti.
 Set cur donares nisi dignum teste probares,
 Sic quia* laxares dextram donumque parares.

CAPITULUM IX

DE CURIALITATIBUS IN MENSA CONSERVANDIS*

Noxas* suspendo; quo* ducit curia tendo.
 Hanc modo defendo;* sunt rustica que reprehendo.

155. sumus *L*.

157. nota *L*; complent *C*.

158. harena *L*; regnaque corrected regiaque *O*.

159. patrimonia corrected patria *O*.

162. quoque *C*.

Chapter heading IX. Omitted in *CO*.

163. Moras corrected Noxas *B*, [N]oxas *L*; quod *O*.

164. defendo *B*.

155. *Dilige*, o Roma *BL*.—*Petrum*, sanctum *BL*.—*quo*, a Petro *B*; de quo *L*.—*honorem*, totum *L*.

156. *Introductorem*, Petrum dico, clavigerum *L*.—*Simonis*, hic tangit hystoriam quia sanctus Petrus Simonem Magum vicit [*Vulg. act.* 8, 9–24] *C*; scilicet Magi, id est istius vitii, scilicet symonie *L*.

157. *Huius*, Symonis *B*.—*Magi*, Magus equivocum enim est divitie *B*. *Pagi*, id est ditissime ville paganorum *B*; parve ville, unde pagani *C*; MULLE[?] *O*.

158. *arena*, nec complent vota huius *B*.—*Tagi*, illius fluvii habentis aureas arenas *BCL*.—*Mare Rubrum*, omnes gemme in Mare Rubro *B right margin*.—*Lagi*, patris Tholomei, regis Egypti, non complent vota Symonis *B*.

159. *Natis Egisti*, Egistus concubuit cum uxore Menela; filiis adulteri *C*; filiis prelatorum *BL*; Ovidius:

Queritis, Egistus quare sit factus
 adulter;

In promptu [tramptu, sic] causa est:
 desidiosus erat[*Ov. rem.* 161–2]
B left margin—dantur, hodie *L*.—*patrimonia*,
 beneficia ecclesie *BCL*; officia ecclesiastica *O*.

160. *Nudo*, pauperi *L*.—*socio*, vestro *B*;
 scilicet quondam in scolis *L*.—*prelate*, set
 O! *B*.

161. Excusat se auctor *L left margin*.—*donares*, tu, isti nudo *B*; tali scolari *L*; beneficia ecclesiastica *O*.—*dignum*, illum esse *B*;
 ipsum esse *CL*.—*teste*, testimonia *B*; per testimonium illum *O*.

162. *laxares dextram*, per testimonium, id est extends *B*; donando sibi aliquid *L*.—*donumque parares*, sibi si constares tibi de illo *L*.

Chapter IX. *Noxas*, curialitas mistice componitur satire quia sicut flores diversi ornant pratum sic curialitas ornat satiram, unde illud: urbes virtutu[m] letatur virtus. Honestas gaudet honestati corporis esse comes. Consonat et recolet melius mixtura bonorum, concinnat ergo sic: noxas etc. *B right margin*.

163. *Noxas*, peccata hominum *B*.—*suspendo*, omitto *BCL*; pretermitto *O*.—*quo*, ubi *L*.—*ducit*, eum ad finem *C*.—*curia*, curialitas *BL*.—*tendo*, illic *B*; vado *L*.

164. *Hanc*, curialitatem quam prius reprehendit *B*.—*rustica*, rusticitates, quem, id est quas, hic, id est in hoc libro *L*.

- 165 Trado decus dotis huius, fungens vice cotis;
 Nam placitis* votis* illotus dat vada lotis.
 Si nova fecundes convivia, vascula mundes.
 Que das confundes nisi vultu dona secundes.*
 Cum sale splendentes cultros panesque* decentes
 170 Prefer, candentesque* ciphos* potusque placentes;
 Que pretendantur colearia munda gerantur.
 Postea* iungantur* bini quicumque vocantur.
 Non sic propellas quod te fortasse repellas;
 Quod te depellas* sic numquam te retropellas.*
 175 Grossa cliens prima* det* edulia primus opima;
 Turba* dapes minima collaudet que sedet ima.*

165. vite totis *O*.

166. placidis *O*; notis *C*.

168. fecundes *P*.

169. pannosque *C*.

170. candentes et *B*; placentes *LO*; inserted by glossator *C*; in *P* both 169 and 170 end: panesque decentes.

170-171. These lines are transposed in *B*.

172. . poste corrected postea *C*; iungantur *P*.

174. de aspellas, corrected te depellas *O*; retro pellas *O*.

175. prima cliens *L*; dat *P*.

176. Turba *C*; yma *LO*.

165. *decus*, honorem *C*.—*dotis*, donis *BC*.—*huius*, curialitatis *BCL*.—*fungens*, ego dico *B*.—*vice*, vicissitudine *BCL*.—*cotis*, que acuit. Fungar vice cotis acutum reddere que ferrum valet exsors ipsa secandi [Hor. *ars* 304-5] *B right margin*.

166. *placitis*, scilicet divitiorum *B*; desideriiis *L*.—*illotus*, servus non lotus *BO*.—*vada*, aquam *BL*.—*lotis*, dominis suis *BL*.

167. *fecundes*, habundanter des *BCL*.—*vascula*, vasa tua *B*.—*mundes*, mundare debes *L*. Vappa est potus cuius due partes sunt vinum et tertia aqua *B left margin*.

168. *confundes*, destrues largitatem tuam *B*.—*nisi vultu dona secundes*, reddas leta, sine prospera[?] *B*; iuxta illud: hilarem datorem diligit Ihesus [Vulg. II Cor. 9, 7] *B left margin*; unde Oratius [*sic*]: Ante omnia vultus accessere boni, etc. [Ov. *met.* 8, 677-8] *B right margin*.—*secundes*, prosperes *CO*; leta facies *L*; sine secundina, -ne, pellis in qua involutus puer quando nascitur *B right margin*.

169. *Cum*, et hoc *C*.—*splendentes*, lotos *L*.—*cultros*, cutellos *O*.—*decentes*, bene paratos *L*.

170. *Prefer*, ante personam *B*.—*ciphos*, prefer *O*. Hoc crustum panis, hec crusta auri *B right margin*.

171. *Que*, colearia *L*.—*colearia*, hoc colear, colea, piscis, inde colearia *B right margin*.

172. *bini*, homines duo et duo *B*; binatim *L*.—*vocantur*, invitantur ad cenam tuam *L*.

173. *propellas*, promoveas, id est AVANT METTET TEY *B*; AVANT APELES *C*; procul *L*.—iuxta illud medio tutissimus ibis [Ov. *met.* 2, 137] et alibi, medium tennere [*sic*] bene [Ibid., 140] *B right margin*.

174. *depellas*, deorsum pellas ab honore *B*; cum inferioribus *C*.—*retropellas*, cum pauperibus *B*.

175. *cliens*, dapifer *BC*; cliens a cleos, gloria *B left margin*.—*edulia*, primus MES; edulium dicitur omnis cibus sine pane, unde gallice COMPANAGE, et dicitur de edo, -es *B right margin*; edulium COMPANAGE, vel ferculum, vel omnis cibus preter panem *C*; fercula, edulia, id est ferculia *O*; fercilia *L*.

176. *Turba*, RASCAILLE *B*.—*minima*, fac ut laudet *B*.—*collaudet*, dabit *B*; debeas laudate *L*.—*que*, turba *L*.—*ima*, proprie hostium *L*; ymo *O*.

- Ut decet, ore bibas vacuo, si* prandia* libas;*
 Nec denuo* rebibas. Rudis es si morsa relibas.*
 Munda cultellum;* morsellum* quere tenellum,
 180 Set per cancellum;* post supra pone platellum.
 Multa minutella* reseca presente puella.
 In molli sella* discumbat sponsa tenella;
 Surgat post cenam, cameramque subintrat* amenam.
 Fer* vini plenam, si postulat illa,* lagenam.
 185 Eger sorbillo, sumpto* pro tempore villo;
 Me michi tranquillo pede* cum presente suillo.
 Gens invitatur; ne* de ruditate queratur
 Mane requiratur; hec clero lex teneatur.

177. set *C*; prandias *corrected* prandia *B*; bibas *corrected* libas *O*.

178. domino *L*, *BOC* also have dno which commonly means domino; prandia libas *corrected* morsa relibas *B*, followed by the line, Munda cultellum post supra pone platellum which is marked vacat.

179. Nuda cutellum *P*; morcellum *C*.

180. cansellum *L*.

181. minucella *CO*.

182. cella *C*.

183. subintret *B*.

184. Fert *C*; ipsa *B*.

185. sumto *corrected* sumpto *B*.

186. prede *B*.

187. nec *C*.

177. *Ut decet*, hic docet auctor quomodo nos debemus continere in mensa, quoniam ore perimpleto non debemus bibere et debemus vitare illa que docet in libro vitanda et fugianda *B left margin*.—*ore bibas vacuo*, non ore pecuato ut equus *L*.—*libas*, gustes *L*.

178. *denuo rebibas*, non retro bibas *B*.—*Rudis*, ad modum rustici *C*.—*morsa*, hec collerida [*corrected* collirida], id est esca panis *B right margin*.—*relibas*, regustas *C*.

179. *Munda*, ut decet *L*.—*cultellum*, cum pane *O*.—*tenellum*, tenerum *CO*; minimum *L*.

180. *Set per*, docet quomodo debemus secare carnes, quoniam per cancellum, id est, per transversum, unde legitur de Iacob ut benedixit filiis suis manibus cancellatis, id est transpositis ad modum crucis [*Vulg. gen.* 48, 14–15], et similiter patet Ovidio: Secundum . . . cancellis positis transposuisse pedes *B left margin*; Ov., cancello poteris transposuisse pedes [*Ov. am.* 3, 2, 63–4, where the lines read: potes, si forte iuvabit, cancellis primos inseruisse pedes] *B right margin*; cancellisque potes transposuisse pedes *L right margin*; per transpositionem venarum *B*; transpositione

carnis *O*.—*post*, adverbium *C*.—*pone*, morsellum *O*.

181. *Multa minutella*, multos parvos morsellos *O*; comminutal cancel [*sic*] morsellos *B*.

182. *discumbat*, sedeat ad prandium *B*.—*tenella*, nova *C*, tenera *O*.

183. *Surgat*, domina *B*; illa sponsa *LO*.—*amenam*, bene ornatam propter hospites *B*.

184. *postulat*, et si non similiter postulet *L*.—*illa*, domina *C*.—*lagenam*, a lata gena *C*.

185. *Eger*, ego *B*; sic dicendo *L*.—*sorbillo*, LAS, HUME *B*; existens humo *C*; humo, id est humeri *L*; supe, HUM *O*.—*pro tempore*, parum *O*.—*villo*, debili vino *BCO*; villus flosus, de LAINE, FLOCKES . . . despicere et dicitur hoc villum . . . *B right margin*.

186. *Me*, si sim eger *B*, adiecio mihi *O*.—*tranquillo*, refficio *B*, pacifico *CLO*.—*presente*, preparato *C*.—*suillo*, porcino *BCL*, de sus, suis *L*.

187. *invitatur*, requiratur ad comestionem *B*.—*queratur*, scilicet gens *B*.

188. *Mane*, in crastino *B*.—*hec clero lex*, hoc non regalibus *B*; set non in curiis *L*; quia non tenet principibus *C*.

- Sit tibi mantile* mundum tersumque* sedile.*
 190 Absit scurile* verbum, propone virile.
 Est deus ad vota* pius* ipse* facetia* tota;
 Hunc imitare,* nota* turpi quacumque remota.
 Palmas mundate post prandia; vina novate*;
 Grates ante date* domino, cum sobrietate.*
 195 Post assumpta* satis, miseros non pretereatis*;
 Lubrica spargatis, mansuraque possideatis.
 Pauperis impense sint* miscellenia* mense;
 Partes suspense sint illi, sintque repense.
 Hospitibus presto si te geris, aulicus esto;

189. mantile *O*; tersumque *corrected* tersumque *B*; Sit mansillo tersum mundumque cubile *P*.

190. scurille *O*; scurille *P*.

191. voca *CO*; pius *L*; ipsa *CLO*; facescia *BL*.

192. ymitare *O*; vota *O*.

193. notate *LP*, vocate *O*.

194. date *inserted by glossator C*; sobritate *L*.

195. assumpta *C*; preteratis *L*.

197. sunt *C*; miscellecia *corrected* miscelleina *O*.

189. Hic est persuasio ut immunditia et avaritia . . . , unde Oratius: Nec turpe thoral, nec sordida mappa [corruget naris.] [Hor. *epist.* 1, 5, 22-23] *B right margin*.—mantile, NAPE, a manu et teneo, tenes *B*; TWALY *L*.—tersum, sine pulvere *B*; de tergo, -gis *L*.—sedile, BAUNC *B*; scannum *C*; PANGCUS *corrected* PANCUS *O*.

190. debet etiam cavere ne dicat turpia verba, unde Oratius: . . . hic fracta voce loquendi libertas, etc. *B right margin*.—scurile, turpe scure *B*; scurre *C*; sordidum *O*.—virile, verbum, id est sapientis *B*.

191. Est, quis est facetus *B*.—vota, desideria *BL*.—ipse, vel ipsa *B*.—facetia, talia assentia debent resolvi instantiva nichil secundum modum quando sic . . . *B right margin*.—que quidam *O right margin*.

192. Hunc, deum *CLO*.—imitare, tu *L*.—nota, macula *BCLO*.

193. Palmas, manus tuas ante prandia et post *O*.—novate, de novo date *BL*.

194. Grates, gratias *B*; actiones gratiarum *C*.—date, reparationi odi *B*, o clerici *O*.—sobrietate, et nolite inebriari *B*.

196. Lubrica, transsitoria *BCL*; fragmenta *O*.—spargatis, dividatis *B*; pauperibus datis *O*.—mansura, eterna bona que manebunt eterna *B*.—possideatis, ex hoc *B*.

197. Pauperis, Hic persuadet ad pietatem et caritatem quoniam caritas operit multi-

tudinem peccatorum *B left margin*.—impense, munera *B*; munera vel beneficia *L*; unde Magister: Instruis impensa nostra sepulera brevi [Ov. *epist.* 7, 188] *B left margin*; Extruis impensa nostra sepulera brevi, Ovidius in epistolis *L left margin*.—miscellenia, id est residua, a misceo, -ces, unde: Viri nudi sic veniunt ad miscelenia ludi; illa debunt dari dari pauperibus; impense, id est donate vel conservate *B left margin*; RELEFS, et dicitur a misceo, -ces *B*; Quidam sunt qui suspendunt elimosinas et dant latricibus et meretricibus *C right margin*; de miscieo, -ces, et hec mica, id est fragmenta *L*.

198. partes suspense, hic est effexegesis, id est expositio precedentis lineae, suspense, id est custodite illi, scilicet pauperi, quia quidam sunt qui residua servant non pauperi Christi set diabolo, qui recte ducit complices suos ad infernum *B left margin*.—partes, fragmenta mense *O*.—suspense, munera dilate *B*; servate *O*.—illi, pauperi *BCL*.—repense, distribute *B*; retribute *C*; atribute *L*; dato *O*.—Locus aderibit ibi quidem canes aulici *B right margin*.

199. *C begins a new chapter headed* Persuasio ad hospitalitem curialitatis.—presto, promptus *B*; promptum *C*; promptum *L*; promptum *O*.—aulicus, affabilis et urbanus *B*; CURTEYS, et dicitur ab aula *B right margin*; aulicus est ille qui est familiaris domino aule *C*, curialis homo *L*.—esto, sis *O*.

- 200 Cum vultu festo, cultu* capiantur honesto.
 Ora tibi muta ne clausuris, ante saluta;
 Et quandoque puta quod prosunt dona secuta.*
 Pasce* clientelam; pravam depone querelam.*
 Duc ad cautelam,* loca per suspecta,* sequelam.
 205 Audi, responde paucis, nescita reconde,
 Hirsutos* tonde, placidis clenodia sponde.
 Frigore, sole, luto, differre* coacta refuto;
 Tegmine dissuto non tardatus* michi nuto.

200. culta *corrected* cultu *B*.

202. *This line is inserted in margin of C.*

203. Passe *O*; loquelam *P*.

204. cauthelam *P*; suspecta que *corrected* suspecta

B.

200. *vultu*, leto *B*.—*festo*, festivo *BCO*.—*capiuntur*, hospites *BLO*.

201. Doctrina traditur hic ad curialitatem salutandi quoniam debet homo libenter . . . iuxta illud Catonis: saluta libenter [Ps. Cato, *brev. sent.* 9] *B right margin*.—*ante saluta*, id est saluta ipsum antequam ipse te salutet *O*.

202. *quandoque*, per hoc quod dicit "quandoque" notat autor quasi dandum est in tempore et non prodige dispergendum *O left margin*; *probably similar in B right margin*.—*dona secuta*, illam salutationem *BLO*; salutationes *C*.

203. *pasce clientelam*, economicum preceptum traditur hic, scilicet curare familiam, nam sicut docet Tullius in libro De Officiis [Cic. *off.* 2, 89]: primum debet esse apud patrem familias curare familiam; per hoc quod dicit "querelam" excluditur austeritas *B top of fol. 5v*.—*depone querelam*, non aquirendum de cibo et de potu *L*; noli discere: illi destruunt me, illi comedunt quantum et abeo *O*.

204. *duc* . . . *sequelam*, turbam armatorum per loca suspecta, id est per loca de quibus mala suspicantur, scilicet quod fures sint ibi vel predones, quod loyllum est in tali loco habere bonam sequelam *B top of fol. 5v, line 2*.—*ad cautelam*, ad conservationem corporis tui *B*.—*suspecta*, nemores *B*.

205. *Audi, etc.*, Hic tradit auctor disputantibus cautelam et ostendit quomodo se debent habere in disputatione, quoniam debent

206. Irsutos *CL*.

207. de ferre *O*.

208. tardatis *corrected* tardatus *C*.

audire opponentem pacifice et ad obiecta debent breviter respondere *B top of fol. 5v, line 3*; Salomon: Qui prius respondet quam audiat, se stultum esse demonstrat, et confusione dignum [Vulg. *prov.* 18, 13] *B right margin*.—*paucis*, verbis *BC*; per gloria *L*.—*nescita reconde*, per obliquam abscondere responsionem ne te ducat ad inconvenientes *O*.

206. *Hirsutos tonde*, fac ignorantiam malorum aparere *B*; felinis *B left margin*; verba irsuta *O*; id est protervos et perversos quia dicit . . . menti proterviendum est *O left margin*.—*tonde*, depone *BL*; excoria *O*.—*placidis*, hominibus *L*.—*clenodia*, clenodium dicitur a cleos, quod est gloria, et nodus, -di, quasi gloriosus nodus *B top of fol. 5v, line 4*; *IONEUS B*; ludicra *L*; munuscula *O*.—*sponde*, promitte *BCL*; equivocum ad duo *B right margin*.

207. *Frigore*, propter frigus *O*.—*sole*, propter ardorem *O*.—*luto*, propter *O*.—*differre*, longate *L*. *coacta*, stricta vestigia, prima per consequens, que debent ex necessitate fieri *B*, stricta negotia *CLO*.—*refuto*, ego *L*. Ulositas significat habundantiam caloris et calor malitiam *B left margin*.

208. Oratius: Quidlibet indutus loca per celeberrima vadit [Hor. *epist.* 1, 17, 28] *B right margin*.—*Tegmine*, pro roba mea *O*.—*dissuto*, DECOSUE, *B*; propter vestem *L*.—*tardatus*, ego *L*.—*nuto*, non deficio *B*; non deficio michi *O*; Nuto do signum, notoque quando cado. Omnis Aristippum (scilicet magistrum) decuit color et status et res [Hor. *epist.* 1, 17, 23] *L left margin*.

CAPITULUM X

DELIBERATIO SCOLARIS SECUNDUM SENTENTIAM* SENECE ET* DE
VITA SCOLASTICA*

- Est* paupertatis victor tiro* probitatis,
 210 Miles honestatis, dux pacis, homo pietatis.
 Esto querelosus dicens: ego sum studiosus,
 Pravos exosus, set vilis, inops, onerosus.*
 O Romam peterem, nisi fures,* bella timerem,
 Et ius* exigere[m], si quid donare valerem!
 215 Non sum regalis sanguis, non* pontificalis,*
 Vendico set talis heres bona spiritualis.

Chapter heading X. *summam B; et omitted in L; the heading is partly erased in C, and wholly erased or missing in O.*

209. [E]st *L*; tiro victor *B*; tyro *LO*.

212. honerosus *BC*.

213. *furor corrected furem O.*

214. vis *CO*.

215. quoque *corrected non B; pontificalis B.*

217. *cleros corrected clerus in margin of B.*

Chapter X. In hac satira commendatur paupertas et pauperes boni iuxta illud: "boni pauperes spiritu" etc. Postea introducitur querelosus manifestans statum miseri pauperis set felicis per sententiam Senece; dicit igitur: est pauper *B left margin*.

209. *Est paupertatis victor*, unde dicitur: boni pauperis spiritu [*Vulg. Matth. 5, 3*] *B right margin, similar in L*; qui habet paupertatem sub pedem *O*.—*tiro*, dicitur a tiros, angustia, unde tyrocinium, id est hastiludium *B left margin*.—*By dots over the words the line is construed as follows in B*: Victor paupertatis est tyro probitatis.

210. *dux pacis*, qui patiens est in paupertate *B*.—*homo pietatis*, contemptans paupertatem *L*.

211. *Esto*, tu qui es bonus quamvis sis pauper *B*; quicumque igitur bonus es *L*.—*querelosus*, plenus *L*.

212. *Pravos exosus*, tria sunt nomina que regunt accusativas per equipollentiam: par-cita, perosus, exosus *B left margin*; habens pravos odio *LO*; ego dico *O*.—*vilis*, ego sum *L*.—*onerosus*, quia pauper, quia abiectus ab omnibus *O*; eiectus a multis *B*.

213. *O*, *O deus L*; exclamatio prima persona introducta *O*.—*O Romam*, prosumit

Romanos esse tales et tangit avaritiam eorundem *B left margin*.—*fures*, hic innuit malitiam mundi *BC right margin*.

214. *ius exigere[m]*, beneficium ecclesie *BL*.—*quid*, aliquid *L*; hic innuit avaritiam cardinalium *CL*.

215. *Non sum regalis sanguis*, quare non habes redditum respondeo *L*; quia si sicut, essem dives *O*; filius regis *BL*.—*sanguis*, progenies *C*.—*non pontificalis*, non episcopi *B*; non nepos episcopi *L*.

216. Cuius cognati poterit nomine culpa tegi *B left margin*.—*talis*, qualem vides *B*.—*heres*, ego dico *C*.—*bona*, beneficia ecclesiastica; quasi dicit pauper sum *B*.

217. Hic innuit auctor quod divites et generosi promoventur et pauperes repelluntur quamvis probit sint, quod e converso debet esse; et hoc probat per locum ab interpretatione, et hoc est quod tangit ibi: "sors est aut" *B left Margin*.—Quasi dicat: quare clericus dicatur a cleros quod est sors sive ereditas, liquet quod clerici sunt coeredes Christi et ius habent in patrimonium crucifixi *O right margin*.—*sors*, latine *L*.—*heres*, latine *BL*.—*cleros*, grece *BO*; grece, unde clericus dicitur *BL*.—*heres*, hesitas, dubitas *B*; dubites *L*.

- Sors est, aut heres, cleros,* si forsitan heres;
 Hinc clerum referes,* hinc sortis quero mee res.*
 Nobilitas morum cathedris prefulget honorum.
 220 Natum rure* chorum* presignit* mente decorum.
 Si gravor, appello; gravis hic* quia* regnat Aello,
 Que vivit bello, vi, raptu, strage, flagello.
 Insenuit studio mea longo tempore* Clio,
 Imminet* exitio* cui paupertatis* Enio.*
 225 Versificor,* nec magnificor,* pauper quia dicor;

218. refferes *B*; quero . . . res *corrected* quero mee res *in margin of C*, quero me res *L*.

220. rure *is doubtful in C*, it may be iure or vire, corum *C*; presignat *C*, presingnit *LO*.

221. hec *C*; quoque *B*.

223. temporum *B*.

218. *clerum*, a *cleros* grece, id est clericum *B*; id est ab hoc quod *cleros* grece est sors *O*. *hinc*, ab contra *B*.—*sortis*, mee hereditatis *B*; extali divinatione, hereditatis mee *L*.—*quero*, expositione *cleros B*.

219. *Nobilitas*, respondet ad antiphoram quod nobilitas est pendens a virtutibus quibus rusticane priores fuerunt nobiles et quia sic quod nobilitas morum precellit nobilitatem generis ergo significativior appellata, etc. *B left margin*.—*morum*, virtutum *BCLO*.—*cathedris*, dignitatibus *CLO*.—*honorum*, dignitatum *BC*; honorabile consortium *O*.

220. Et sic probat quod nobiles animo et sermone sint nobiles genere preferri debent beneficiis ecclesiasticis; unde sanctus Chrysostomus: melius est ut parentes in te glorientur quam tu glorieres in parentibus [*cp.* Chrys. (St.) *de Laz.* IV (Migne *P. Gr.* 48, col. 1005)]; quid enim nocet ei generatio vilis quem mores adornant, quid etiam prodest ei generatio clara quem mores sordidant? *O right margin*.—*rure chorum*, illa nobilitas *B*; de genere rusticato *O*.—*presignit*, nobilitat *BLO*.—*mente*, pulera consilio *L*.—*decorum*, chorum dico *B*, corum dico *L*, ordinatio *O*.

221. Magister dicit *L left margin*.—*gravor*, propter pauperitatem *BC*; propter gravitatem *L*.—*appello*, ad deum *BL*.—*hic*, in ecclesia romana *B left margin*.—*Aello*, hec *Aello*, arpia, musca est *B*, discordia vel arpia, scilicet cupiditas *C*; arpia, cupiditas vel concupiscentia *L*; Tres sunt arpie cupidi, tria

224. Eminent *C*, Inminet *L*; exitio *LO*; pauperis *corrected* paupertatis *in margin of C*; henio *CLO*.

225. Versificor *B*; Versificator *corrected* Versificor *O*; magnificor *B*, magnificator *corrected* magnificor *O*.

crimina: gliscit, dirripit, abscondit; plenior, eget inops *B right margin*; Celleno, Occipode, et Aello tres sunt sorores dicte arpie, ab arpias, quod est rapere, sicut . . . dicunt versus Integumentorum [*cf. Mythogr.* 1, 111].

Aello, id est avaritia; tres sunt arpie que sunt virgines; habent capita virginea, ungues rapaces, et plumas; per capita virginea intelligimus paritatem quam pretendunt avari pro virtute; per ungues intelligimus cupiditas, per plumas divite, per pallorem maculentia avarorum, unde versus in libro Integumentorum: Tres sunt arpie cupidi, tria crimina: gliscit, diripit, abscondit; plenior, eget inops. Aello cupiens, Accipite diripiens, Celeno rapta abscondens [see *Integumenta*, p. 116 above]. *B left margin*. The citation: Tres sunt etc., is also in *C right margin*.

222. *Que*, avaritia *B*; arpia *C*; aello, cupiditas hodie *L*.—*strage*, PESTE *BC*; pestilentia *LO*.—*flagello*, FLAEL *B*; tormento *CO*.

223. *studio*, Parisicio *L*.—*Clio*, mea prima meditatio vel musa; mea scientia; prima cogitatio *B*.

224. *exitio*, tormento *B*.—*cui*, muse *C*.—*Enio*, vel dea paupertatis vel dea belli, id est discordia que preedit bellum, scilicet soror Martis [*cp.* Quint. *Smyrn.* 8, 425–6] *B*, similar in *O*.

225. *Versificor*, omnia composita de satirico sunt acria nisi versificor gratificor *B right margin*.—*nec magnificor*, non laudor *BLO*.

- Set si vilificor,* tamen est sublime michi cor.
 Me macer* enervo, metra, non aurum, coacervo,*
 Paupere cum servo tenui me solor in ervo.
 Absit defectus* turpis, sit fulta* senectus,
 230 Sit certus* lectus, sit tutum tegmine pectus.
 Viscera* protelo, me* sicut aranea velo,
 Et victus zelo metra protelata* revelo.
 Set* fortunatus* aliter sum, dum tenuatus—
 Gazis* nudatus,* et curis* exhoneratus.*
 235 Nos deus indurat, nos duris ducere curat;
 Nos dum pressurat, per pressuram sibi purat.

226. vilificor, *corrected* vilificor *B*.
 227. mater *BC*, mater *corrected* macer *in margin*
of L; choacervo *B*.
 229. defectus *corrected* defectus *B*; fulca *P*.
 230. iertus *P*.

231. Vicera *B*; mea *P*.
 232. protellata *corrected* protelata *B*.
 233. Sic *L*; fortunatus *L*.
 234. Garis *L*; nudatis *C*; cirris *corrected* curis *B*;
 exoneratus *LO*.

226. *si*, quamvis *BCLO*.—*sublime*, regale *C*.

227. *Me*, scilicet studio *B*.—*macer*, ego *B*.—*enervo*, debilito me legendo *BC*.—*aurum*, pecuniam *O*.—*coacervo*, cumulo *BCLO*.

228. *Paupere*, meo *B*.—*servo*, nomine Willelmo *L*; Willelmo *C*.—*me solor*, conforto me *B*.—*ervo*, ervus est herba qua pascuntur boves et tauri, unde Virgilius: Heu, heu, quam pinguis [*sic* = pingui] macer est mihi taurus in ervo [*Verg. ecl. 3, 100*] *B left margin*; ab ervo, ervis, id est tenui victu; hoc ervum, pastus *B right and left margins*; in herba illa que dicitur centinodium qua boves pascuntur, unde Virgilius: Heu, heu, quam pingui solor in ervo *C right margin*; hoc ervum est herba grece terterime, id est *VECHE*, et alio nomine centinodium et proserpinaca *O right margin*.

229. *Absit*, a clerico *B*; quamvis ille dixerit: quod solor me in tenui ervo cum defectus absit *O left margin*.—*defectus turpis*, summa paupertatis *B*.—*fulta senectus*, apodiata *BC*; victu et vestitu *B*; de bonis temporalibus *O*; boni clerici *B*.

230. *tegmene*, aliquo collobio [= colobio] *L*; veste convenienti *O*.—*pectus*, boni clerici *B*; corpus tuum *L*; pectus et per consequens cor *O*.

231. Nota quod ex viscositate corporis et a visceribus extrahit et preparat arenea colam et similiter poeta scientiam *O right margin*; facit se intellegeri, quia ipsa iacet in tela qua capit muscas et facit telam a visceribus propriis *L*.—*Viscera*, secreta vicerum *B*; secreta viscerum *L*; secreta viscerum meorum *O*.—*protelo*, extendo *BLO*; prolongo, a telon *C*.

232. *victus*, cibi et potus *C*.—*zelo*, pro amore *BL*.—*protelata*, extensa *L*; composita *O*.—*revelo*, extendo *B*; ostendo *CLO*.

233. *fortunatus*, felix *BLO*.—*aliter*, quam habendo divitias *BCL*.—*tenuatus*, pauper *B*; tenuis *L*; abstentio temporalibus *O*.

234. *nudatus*, ego *B*; sum *C*; ego dico spoliatus *L*.—*curis*, rerum anxietatibus *B*; anxietatibus secularibus *L*; ab angeietatibus animi *O*.

235. *Nos deus indurat*, reddit nos patientes in paupertate *C*; reddit nos duratos ad laborem *L*.—*duris*, in pauperitate attrahere per dura; pro duritatibus quas patiuntur *B*; per illa dura que sustinemus *L*; prospera corrumpunt, adversa mundificant *O right margin*.

236. *Nos*, per labores et dolores patientes paupertatem *O*.—*pressurat*, anxiat *B*; angustat *C*; stringat *L*.—*pressuram*, per angustiam *B*; frequenter premit *O*.—*purat*, mundat *BO*; purificat *L*.

CAPITULUM XI

DE VITA FORTUNATA QUORUMDAM SACERDOTUM*

Dum* sic alterno satiras* quas trado* quaterno
 Aule secerno flores, lolium rude sperno.
 Cantant presbiteri quibus est vox nuntia veri;
 240 Set flent garciferi, consortes* vatis Homeri.
 Hii sunt* errantes* pedites; hii* sunt equitantes,
 Mannum frenantes,* iumenta* sepe plicantes.*
 Nullis* vallatum pompis* ego dico beatum;
 Paucis fuscatum* viciis minimisque notatum.*

Chapter heading XI. De fortuna[ta] vita quorundam sacerdotum C.

237. [Dum] L; satyras B; scribo O.

240. consertes O.

241. omitted in L; herantes O; hi L.

242. fervantes O; iumenta* CLO.

243. Nullum P; pommpis B.

244. fuscatum L; vocatum O, notant P; this line is inserted in the margin of L.

Chapter XI. *Dum sic alterno*, Hic agit auctor de felicitate sacerdotum et de vita iocunda eorum que non est in scolaribus; dicit ergo "dum sic alterno," et quia auctor istius opusculi dicit se laboriosum esse dum ipsi sunt otiosi et cometi, ideo dicit satiras, id est reprehensiones; flores, id est curialitates, vitam floridam et honestam; lolium, id est vitium, scilicet illud granum rude B top of fol. 6r.

237. *alterno*, alternatim scribo BCLO.—*satiras*, satyras, id est reprehensiones sermones B.—*quaterno*, scriptioni isti CL.

238. *secerno*, divido BCLO.—*flores*, curialitates aule B.—*lolium*, voluptatem inebriantem; ruditatem, et est proprie herba que infatuat hominem, anglice DARNEL, gallice RINEREYE, RINEREY B right margin.

239. *Cantant etc.*, quoniam manifestat quod sunt iocosi, set consortes, magistri et philosophi, sunt garciferi, id est viles habentur sicut garciferi, unde versus: Vobiscum dominus equitat cum principe primus, set genus et species cogitur ire pedes B left margin.—*vox*, set non cor BL.—*veri*, veritatis BL; Christi, veritatis C.

240. *flent*, pro paupertate L.—*garciferi*, viles scolares B; presbiteri viles L.—*consortes*, scolares LO.—*vatis*, propheti B; Virgilii C.—*Homeri*, illius poete B; cuiuslibet boni filosoffi sic sint O right margin.

241. *Hii*, propheti B; clerici CL; consortes Homeri O.—*errantes*, de uno loco ad alium B.—*pedites*, hic et hec pedes B.—*hii*, presbiteri BCLO.

242. *Mannum*, palefridum CLO.—*frenantes*, refrenans B; deviantes O.—*iumenta*, meretrices, focarias, concubinas B; iumenta, id est puellas focarias quas tenent B left margin; mulieres C; mulierculam L; meretrices O.—*plicantes*, flectentes BO; curvantes L.

243. *Nullis, etc.*, Hic determinatur qui sunt beati per dictum Seneca quoniam ille est beatus qui circumdatus est paucis vitiis, unde Oratius: Felix qui minimis urgetur [Hor. sat. 1, 3, 68] B left margin.—*vallatum*, circumdatum BC.—*pompis* vanitatibus BCLO.—*beatum*, hominem BO.

244. Set dico hominem esse beatum B; sententia Seneca L.—*fuscatum*, denigratum BL.—*minimis*, scilicet vitiis venalibus B.—*notatum*, maculatum vel reprehensibilem B.

CAPITULUM XII

DE VITA SCOLASTICA LAUDABILI SINE SUPERFLUITATE

- 245 Iesu Christe, pie proles benedicta Marie,
 Duxque* comesque* vie, iudex bonus, ultor Urie,*
 Subvenias miseris, miserorum qui misereris,*
 Labi qui pateris sanos egrisque* mederis.
 Vis patris eterna, sapientia nate paterna,*
 250 Spiritus interna penetrans, nos, sancte, gubernas.
 De rosula verna flos, Christe, marisque lucerna,

245. [I]esu *L*.

246. Duxque, *seemingly corrected* Duque *B*; Dux comes est que *C*, where the following incomplete line is deleted above, Dux comes est que vie iudex b; urye *L*; ulto usie *P*.

247. miseris *CP*.

248. egerosque *O*.

249. eterna, *corrected* paterna *O*.

Chapter XII. Hic agit auctor de vita scolastica que est sine superfluitate set prius invocatur patrocinium Iesu Christi et commendatur beata virgo quam non decet in nostris laudibus preteriri [*sic*]; dicit ergo: o Iesu Christe etc. Benedicta: alludit sancte salutationi ab angelo, quando dicitur benedicta tu, etc. Comes, scilicet in hoc mundo, quia dum sumus in hoc mundo sumus in via, in futuro erimus in patria. Urie, id est viri iusti ultor qui patitur iniuriam pro deo, hoc est quod dicitur in libro regum de David qui cum adamaret Bersabee, uxorem Urie, et vidit quod aliter non posset habere eam, misit Urie ad Joab, principem militie, tradens ei litteras mortis sue ut poneret illum ubi fortius erat bellum, et sic factum est, et sic David perpetravit adulterium et homicidium. Postea accessit Nathan propheta ad David et dixit ei: quidam dives erat et habebat centum oves; quidam pauper erat vicinus suus qui non habebat nisi unicum ovem. Dives vero ovem ei abstulit et ipsum interfecit. Modo die quid debeat fieri de illo. Respondit David: suspendi debet ille et oves restitui quadruplata. Dixit ei Nathan: tu es ille, nam tu interfecisti Uriam et uxorem ejus abstulisti. Postea rex egit penitentiam, quod longum esset to-

tum enarrare [*Vulg. II reg. 11, 2ff and 12, 7-9*] *B left margin*.

246. *ultor Urie*, iniuriarum illatarum ab improbis, quia non est acceptor personarum, semper enim deus iras ulciscitur iniustas *B right margin*; cuiuslibet damnator iniuste *O*.

247. *Subvenias*, Invocatio est pauperis scolaris. Invocatio quidem et distinctio personarum in trinitate, patris potentia, filii sapientia, spiritus scilicet clementia et Paralitus consolator, et sequitur de incarnatio [*sic*] beate Marie matris, eius expositio vel interpretatio *B left margin opposite line 259*.

248. *Labi*, in infirmitatem *B*; infirmitate cadere *L*; infirmari . . . sue correctioni *O*.—*pateris*, permittis *B*.—*mederis*, das medicinam *BO*.

249. Invocatio ad trinitatem sanctam et distinctio personarum *B left margin*.

250. *interna*, interiora natura *B*; omnia interiora hominum *L*.—*nos*, scolares *B*.

251. *De rosula*, id est, de beata virgine secundum illud: stirps Iesse virgam . . . et ponit interpretationem pro interpretato *B left margin opposite line 262*.—*lucerna*, Maria que interpretatur stella maris *B*.

Que sunt externa purga virtute superna,
 Parvos vise lares, vexatos vise* scolares,*
 Egiptique mares, qui* cleri* gloria clares.*
 255 Est* studii victus, non a virtute* relictus,*
 Set miseris rictus dat dives et ingerit ictus.*
 In camera parce* comedo, non altus in arce;
 Nec michi sunt marce,* nec dant michi predia Parce.
 Beta, fabe, pisa, sunt hic bona prandia* visa,

253. vite *C*; qui clerici gloria clares *P*.

254. quid *O*; deri, corrected cleri in margin of *B*,
 an error which may have resulted from the presence of
 quid instead of qui in the copy; vexatos vise scolares *P*.

255. Et *O*; avirtute *O*; Relictus *B*.

256. iclus *O*.

257. parse *O*.

258. mare *O*.

259. fercula *LOP*.

252. *externa*, tribulationes nocentes nobis;
 vitia scilicet que sunt ab extrinseco et non a
 creatione dei *B* right margin.—*virtute su-*
perna, celesti virtute *BC*.

253. *Parvos vise lares*, petitio fit ad deum
 ut ipse visitet scolares more poetarum qui
 solebant facere apostrophationes in carmini-
 bus suis. Dicit ergo: vise parvos humiles
 ministros tuos tanquam domos parvas se-
 cundum illud: ego dixi autem estis etc. vel
 parvos, id est parvas domos; vexatos, scilicet
 studiis et laboribus *B* foot of fol. 6r in middle
 of third line.—*Parvos lares*, cameraia cleri-
 corum *L*. *vise*, visita *BC*.

254. *Egipti*, id est masculos et fortes in
 tenebris mundi. Pharaoh enim precepit ob-
 stetricibus Egipti ut mares Ebreorum inter-
 ficerentur et mulieres reservarent. Per
 Pharaonem diabolus [interpretatur]; pre-
 cepit enim diabolus interficere fortes, id est
 virtuosos, et mulieres, id est debiles et effe-
 minatos qui sunt excecati in tenebris hujus
 mundi, et hoc est quod dicit: Egipti etc. *B*
 foot of fol. 6r, line 5; istius mundi *BL*;
 huius mundi *CO*.—*mares*, quos diabolus in-
 tendit destruere *B*; masculos *CO*; masculis
 [sic] scolares *L*.—*clares*, splendes *BO*; luces
C.

255. *victus*, vita scolastica *B*.—*relictus*,
 remotus *B*.

256. *miseris*, pauperibus *B*.—*rictus*, ES-
 CHINEMENS *B*.—*dives*, malus *L*.—*ingerit ictus*,
 effugat ipsos *B*; fustigat eos miseros *C*; quia
 fustigat pauperes *L*.

257. *In camera*, id est in parva domun-
 cula quam propriis denariis conduxit; et dici-
 tur camera a camer, -ra, -rum, quod curvus,
 -va, -vum. Non in alto sicut dives, non habet
 marcas, id est massas argenteas, nec Parce,
 id est furie, multum dant predia, id est allo-
 dia, que dicuntur a parco, -cis *B* right margin.
 —*parce*, modice, id est non splendide *L*; parce
 probat quod animus debeat eos respicere quia
 dives, id est exceptus a studio, existens in altis
 domibus suis, dat rictus, id est derisiones,
 miseris, scilicet scolaribus, et etiam quod peius
 est, percutiunt scolares miseros; sicut facit
 dives set pauper clericus comedit parce *B*
 foot of fol. 6r.—*comedo*, ego scolaris *B*.—
arce, in castro *CL*.

258. *marce*, summe denariorum *BCL*.—
predia, maneria *B*; mansiones diversas *CLO*.
 —*Parce*, DÉSTRUEZ *B*; fata *O*.

259. *Beta*, legumen *CO*.—*pisa*, hoc pisum
B.—*hic*, in camera *B*.—*bona prandia visa*,
 inter scolares *BC*; in vita scolastica *O*; vel
 fercula visa sunt *C*; fercula *B*.

- 260 Et caro derisa* sociis iusteque* recisa.
 Stat vini quarta quam dat sors arce sub arta,
 Omnia dat* parta ratio sub iudice carta.
 Intellectiva virtus surgit rediviva,*
 Virtus* activa sequitur meriti positiva.
 265 Hec* est vita sacra; tenui* facie,* cute macra
 Vita dat hec* lavacra, facit illa* loqui simulacra

260. divisa *CLOP*; iuxteque *P*.

262. dant *C*.

263. re diviva *O*.

264. In *C* the *V* of *virtus* is ornamented like the first letter of chapter headings.

265. Hoc *P*; tenuis *C*; face corrected facie *B*.

260. *derisa*, est *O*.—*sociis*, inter socios *B*.

261. *Stat vini*, inter duos socios vel tres quam sors, id est conditio burse dat sub arta, arce, id est sub certis regulis; ratio, id est computatio, dat omnia parta, id est adquisita sub iudice, id est sub cedula testante in die Veneris secundum illud: redde rationem iusiotue, quia prepositus debet reddere rationem prepositive sue quid per totam ebdomadam expendatur *B right margin line 6*.—*quarta*, lagena *O*.—*quam*, quantam *LO*.—*arce*, conditio burse *BL*; casus burse *O*.—*sub arta*, sub calliditate arta, id est stricta *B*.

262. *Omnia*, adquisita *L*.—*parta*, dispensa *B*; adquisita *O*.—*ratio*, computio in die Veneris *L*.—*iudice*, existente *C*; iudicante *O*. *carta*, in rotulo *L*; cedula quedam in fine septimum per computationem senescalli *O*.

263-4. *Intellectiva virtus*, hic ponit auctor duas virtutes quas dicit Aristotiles in *Eticis* [*cp. Arist. eth. N. 10, 7, 1 sq.*], scilicet intellectualem et consu[e]tudinariam quas debent habere scolares. Virtus namque intellectualis, virtus illa que est in intellectu, surgit scilicet per bonam operationem. Rediviva, id est: iterum viva virtus activa. Intellectualem sequitur consuetudinalis et hoc est quod dicit Aristotiles quod prima [sic] sunt in consid-

265-266. In *B* these two lines read:

Hec est vita sacra; facit illa loqui simulacra,
 Vita dat hec lavacra, tenui facie, cute macra,
 similar in *P*.

266. hec inserted by glossator in *B*; ista *P*.

eratione ultime sunt in operatione. Meriti, id est premii quia virtus activa est positiva premii. Licet sit bonus aliquis in se et habeat virtutes, nisi opera clarescant, nunquam coronabitur *B foot of fol. 6r*.

263. Est virtus intellectualis, que sola est in intellectu et non in opere, et hec non habet meritum; consuetudinalis, in opere, et hec habet meritum *B right margin*; intus posita in anima sopita *B*; intus posita vel sopita in animo *L*.—*rediviva*, scilicet per bona opera, id est iterum viva *B*; in clerico, iterum viva in te scolari *L*; iterum viva per bona opera *O*.

264. *Virtus activa*, virtus consuetudinalis que est in opere *CLO*.—*meriti*, clerici *L*; id est meriti consecutiva *B*.—*positiva*, consecutiva, remunerativa *B*.

265. *Hec*, predicta *BL*; talis tunc *O*.—*vita*, scolastica *BC*.—*loqui*, docte *B*.—*simulacra*, infantes, primo parum scientes; rudes, simulacrum regitur ex vi modi *B*; ymagine, id est fantes *L*; scolares existentes primo quasi statuas *O*.

266. *Vita*, scolaris *L*.—*lavacra*, hec purgamina *BL*; purgatorum dico *C*; purgationes anime et corporis *O*.—*tenui*, vita dico *L*.—*facie*, existente *L*.—*cute macra*, cutis macre *C*; apud cutem *O*.

Cur sol pallescit* subito, cur luna nigrescit,*
 Quid mare compescit,* quo motu terra patescit,*
 Unde venit* grando, nix, imber,* fulmina quando,
 270 Estas longando luces, et hiemps* breviando.

267. pallessit *L*, palescit *O*; mitescist, corrected
 mitescit *B*, nigressit *L*.

268. compescit *C*; patessit *L*.

269. omitted in *O*; ymber *BL*.

270. yemps *B*, yems *CL*.

267. *Cur sol pallescit*, ex obiectione corporis opaci lunaris in aliquo climate *BCLO*; ex umbra terre sibi obiecta que intercipit radios solis *B*.—*cur luna nigrescit*, cur luna patitur eclipsim, que ex umbra terre eclipticatur *B top of fol. 6v*; ex umbra terre obiecta ei *CL*.

268. *Quid mare etc.*, scilicet anima mundi que dicitur aurea cathena; quo motu, id est patitur terra motum, scilicet ventis inclusis *B top of fol. 6v*.—*Quid mare compescit*, deus posuit terminum quem non possit transgredi per auream catenam *B left margin*; causa est solus deus vel effectio naturalis illius elementi *B*; solus deus constituit terminos eius *O*.—*quo motu terra patescit*, scilicet ventorum clausorum in cavernis terre. Et hoc per ventum inclusum in motu terre discurrentem per rimas terre et per aquam *B right margin*, similar in *CL*; id est unde fit terre motus *O*.—*patescit*, fissa est *L*; aparet *O*.

269. *Unde venit grando, nix*, et causa est ex guttis pluvie descendens congelatis in aere. Grando descendendo, nix ascendendo. Nix, ex aqua congelata set fracta *B left margin*; ex pluvia; congelata in aere depluit. Nix, confractio nubis congelate *B top of fol. 6v*; ex guttis congelatis in polo aeris *C*; ex guttis congelatis set fractis. Ex pluvia congelata in poris aeris *L*; quoniam ex stillis congelatis in aere et hoc descendendo, nix autem generatur ex vaporibus in ascendendo, unde

alibi si descendum nimbi stilla[?] grando sepe vigoret ita venti flatu gelidi *O left margin*.—*imber*, ex nimia humiditate aeris proveniente, ut quidam dicunt, a mari *B left margin*; ex collusione ventorum et nimia humiditate aeris *L*.—*fulmina*, ex collatione ventorum, quando venti configunt superius et intercipiunt nubes et inflammant ethera *B left margin similar in CL*; ex ventis qui collisione nubium inflammant ethera qui inflamatus descendit per violentiam *B top of fol. 6v*; Tonitrus est extinctio ignis in nube *C similar in L*.

270. *Estas*, scilicet unde venit *B*; ex affinitate solis secundum situm nostrum longando, ex dispositione obliqua ipsius zodiaci per quem habemus quatuor tempora anni . . . ver, estatem, autumpnum, et hyemem; in estate sol facit magnam semicirculationem in nostro emisperio, in hyeme parvam, unde in hyeme dies sunt parvi et noctes longe, in estate econtra, et sic patet quando nos habemus hyemem antipodes habent estatem et illa nostra estas est eis hyemps, et cetera *B top of fol. 6v, line 3*; Estas venit ex longa circulatione solis et propter signa terre orientia et multum morantia in nostro emisperio *CL left margin*.—*hiemps breviando*, et venit ex signis recte orientibus et cito transactibus. Scilicet ex parva semicirculatione solis, etc. Quando terra evitet motum per miraculum *B*; quia signa in hyeme obliqua oriuntur *CL*.

CAPITULUM XIII

PERSUASIO PER MAGNAS PERSONAS AD VITAM PENITENTIALEM, QUE SIGNIFICATUR PER SANCTAM CRUCEM, QUE PRECEDIT CORONAM GLORIE SEMPTERNE; QUONIAM OMNIA QUE DEUS FECIT, QUAMVIS SINT ROTUNDA, CRUCE CONCATENANTUR, SICUT PROBATUR IN FINE HUIUS CAPITULI*

Cru^x* cancellavit
Forma triumphantem
Regem ditavit

musam michi* metra novantem.
cruce regem significavit;*
cru^x sancta nefas* resecantem,

Chapter heading XIII. *Omitted in BO. Mutilated in CL. Chapter XIII is missing in B, but is found isolated in the same manuscript book, Bruges MS 646, fols. 146r-147r, with the heading: Materia huius capituli est penitentia.*

Chapter XIII. Materia huius prose sequentis est septena laus de septem gaudiis gloriose virginis et deprecatio facta ad ipsam ut ipsa ducat nos secum ad gloriam filii sui. Nota quod versus ternarius significat beatitudinem anime, quaternarius beatitudinem corporis, unde Virgilius: o ter quaterque beati, quis ante ora patrum Troie sub menibus altis contigit oppetere [Verg. *Aen.* 1, 94-6]; oppetere dicitur quasi ore terram petere.

- [1] Gaude virgo salutata,
Gaude virgo fecundata,
Gaude leta septies.
- [2] Fac nos tecum congaudere,
Quam gaudere facit vere
In partu progenies.
- [3] Donis regum stella duce
Nove prolis nova luce
Iocundaris tertio.
- [4] Quarto mater est gavisa,
Morte victa, prole visa,
Factoque colloquio.
- [5] Quinto gaudes ascendente
Celos Christo, te vidente
Prolis tue gloriam.
- [6] Sexto turmis almo flatu
Influente cum affatu
Resumis letitiam.
- [7] Sumpta tandem hoc de mundo,
Carne munda, corde mundo,
Plene plaudis septimo.

271. [C]Rux BL; vi C, veri LO.
272. sanctificavit C, significavit LO.
273. nephas BO, nephas senefas, corrected nephas nefas C.

[8] Tu nos mundi post dolores
Plausus pleni possessores
Facias in ultimo. Amen.

De septem gaudiis beate Virginis:
Prima angeli salutatio,
Secunda partus letitia,
Tertium trium regum oblatio,
Quartum filii resurrectio,
Quintum filii ascentio,
Sextum sancti spiritus eloquentia,
Septimum quidem martyris in celo
assumptio.

B right margin of fol. 146. The hymn to the Virgin is also found after the explicit in O where it is entitled: "Gaude virgo mater Christique." It has the following variants: in [5], line 2, que for te; in [7], line 1, de hoc for hoc de.

271. Cru^x, sancta L.—cancellavit, transposuit BCLO.—musam, modulationem carminis C.—novantem, musam dico CL.

272. Forma, scilicet metrorum B, scilicet crucis C.—triumphantem, victoriam habentem per forma sua L; incoriantem O.—regem, Francorum C; Francie L.—cruce, cruce signationis L.—significavit, A SIGNAFIE B; nobilitavit O; MEECHE L.

273. Regem, Francie CL.—ditavit, illa crux sancta L.—cru^x, non licite prius significationem crucis L.—nefas, peccatum C.—resecantem, in aliis reprehendantem B; anputantem; regem dico L; transmutantem O.

- Quem lex damnantem*
 275 Iustus inauravit*
 Laurum prestantem
 Christus honoravit*
 Cum cruce portantem
 Grecia privavit*
 280 Et contristantem,*
 A vitiis lavit
 Et consultantem*
 Sponsa viro favit,
 Qui sibi vernantem
 285 Ista triumphavit
 Et pessundantem
- reprobos* in iure* probavit.*
 laurum* Christi radiantem,*
 vitam,* cui* templa paravit.
 Ludovicum* colla plicantem,*
 spinas quas pronus amavit.*
 thesauro* se lacrimantem
 sibi quem rex appropriavit.*
 anime se Blanca* micantem
 nato que recta putavit.
 metuens et amans dominantem,
 florem flos associavit.
 stirps omnia, se superantem
 reges, super astra levavit;

274. dampnantem BCO; reproos B; inime, corrected in iure B.

275. ut auravit O; lucrum O; rediantem O.

276. vita O; tibi B.

277. onoravit O; lodovicum, corrected ludovicum B; lodovicum CLO; plientem, corrected plicantem B; picantem L.

274. *Quem, regem BCLO.—lex, iustitie CL.—reprobos, incredulos B; malos CL.—probavit, commendavit L.*

275. *Iustus, rex BCLO, ex quo regnavit L.—inauravit, in auro posuit C.—laurum, coronam BCL.—radiantem, splendentem in illo auro B; splendentem virtute C; prioribus aliis splendentem L.*

276. *vitam, eternam CL.—cui, lauro, id est corone B.—templa, apud Parisius C; Parisius L.—paravit, rex CL.*

277. *honoravit, cruce et corona CL.—Ludovicum, regem Gallie L.—colla, in medio L.—plicantem, Lodovicum dico L.*

278. *portantem, regem dico C; Lodovicum dico L.—spinas, corone CL; vel spineam coronam C.—pronus, obediens B; ille rex C.*

279. *Grecia, civitas Constantinopolis CL.—privavit, scilicet pro redemptione L.—thesauro, a corona C.—lacrimantem, se dico CL.*

280. *contristantem, se dico CL.—quem, thesaurum B; thesaurum C; pro redemptione L.—rex, Francie O.*

278. pronuntiavit, corrected pronus amavit O.

279. priavit O; tesauro BCL.

280. constistantem O; epropiavit, corrected apropiavit B.

281. blacta C.

282. consistentem, corrected consultantem C.

281. *lavit, purgavit C; prius acquisitionem L.—Blanca, regina B; mater cuius, vetus regina C; mater regis L.—micantem, se dico BC; servientem C; virtute L.*

282. *consultantem, se dico CL; dandem filio in consilio L.—nato, regi suo C.—que, ea CL.—recta, esse L.—Set ante hec non sic C; ante non fecit sic L.*

283. *Sponsa, regina BCL.—metuens, illa dico metuens C.—dominantem, regem BCO; dominum L.*

284. *Qui, dominans C; dominus L; rex O.—vernantem, prius illud tempus L.—florem, suam reginam L.—flos, existens quia sanctus C.*

285. *Commendatio stirpis C left margin.—triumphavit, devincere cum . . . tatio regis Francie B; posuit se ad victoriam C; devincit per victoriam L.—stirps, regia L; regis O; scilicet regina C.—superantem, prius, et triumphavit C.*

286. *pessundantem, prius omnia obstantia C; in regimen istius victorie L.—reges, priores C; predecessores L.—super astra, ad summam gloriam B.—levait, stirps B.*

Se dilatavit,
Hec Austrum* flantem*
Anglia* plantavit
290 Orbis plantantem
Set divulgavit
Cunctaque tractantem,

Se transformavit
De cruce letantem
295 Te crux* signavit
Te sacra sacrantem
Te crux purgavit
Hostem pugnantem*
CruX sublimavit*
300 Dogmata* monstrantem
Se* presentavit

Euros* Zephirosque domantem*
Boreeque* minas domitavit.*
stirpem se multiplicantem,
dominos quos illa creavit.
se fama ducum volitantem
michi que* stilus abbreviavit.

mea de cruce musa sonantem
te* presul notificavit;
populo sua signa* levantem,
digne crux sacra sacravit;
primo baptisma rogantem,
contra te crux superavit;
humili te calle viantem,
cathedrali* sede locavit*;
tibi crux et te moderantem

287. heuros *O*; donantem *O*.

288. astrum *L*; ainstrum plantem *B*, marked as erroneous; borieeque *B*, boree qui *O*.

289. Anglia corrected Neustria *BC*; Gallia *LO*.

292. qui *L*.

294. tunc *C*, de *O*.

295. cruce *O*; singna *L*.

298. pugnantem *O*.

299. solimavit *B*.

300. Degrata corrected domegrata then dogmata *L*; chathedrali *L*; letavit corrected locavit *B*.

301. Ce *B*.

287. *Se dilatavit*, stirps extulit *B*; stirps porrexit *C*.—*Eurosque Zephirosque*, orientalem plagam et occidentalem *B*; populos orientales et occidentales *L*.—*domantem*, se dico *CL*.

288. *Hec*, stirps *BCLO*.—*Austrum*, australem plagam *B*; partem australem obstantem sibi *C*.—*Boreeque*, borealium regionem *B*; DE NOREZ *L*.—*minas*, adversantes sibi *C*.

289. *Anglia*, Neustria, hoc dicit propter ducem Neustrie qui adquisivit Angliam *B*; Neustria, secundum quosdam Gallia *C*; secundum quosdam Anglica *L*; vel Anglia *O*.—*stirpem*, Francie *L*.

290. *plantantem*, stirpem *B*.—*quos*, dominos *BL*.—*illa*, stirps *BCL*.

291. *ducum*, Galliorum *L*.—*volitantem*, velocem in victoria *C*; velocem per totum *L*.

292. Non oportet ante omnia narrare omnia *C*.—*tractantem*, se dico *CL*.—*que*, ea *B*; cuncta *C*.—*abbreviavit*, non hic dicta *C*.

293. Commendat episcopum Parisiensem *L*.—*Se transformavit*, se cansellavit *O*; ad

metrum tale *C*.—*musa*, mea sapientia *O*.—*sonantem*, loquentem *B*.

294. *letantem*, de adventu crucis *B*; te *CO*; se dico, me *L*.—*presul*, episcopus Parisius *L*; o millexaltationis *O*.

295. *Te*, o presul *CL*.—*signavit*, episcopus *B*; benedixit te *O*.—*populo*, coram omni populo *C*.—*signa*, crucis *C*.—*levantem*, te dico *BCL*.

296. *sacrantem*, conficientem corpus Christi *B*.

297. *Te*, o presul *C*.—*purgavit*, a peccato originali *CL*.

298. *Hostem*, diabolus *BO*; quia regem et alios *C*.—*te*, o presul *C*.

299. *humili*, via humilitatis *O*.—*calle*, via *C*.—*viantem*, sedentem *B*; insedentem *L*.

300. *Dogmata*, scilicet anime *C*; quia legere de theologia *O*.—*monstrantem*, te *CL*.—*cathedrali*, episcopali *CL*.—*locavit*, crux *BCLO*.

301. *presentavit*, hodie ea dat *L*; demonstravit *O*.—*moderantem*, regentem *B*.

Et sublimantem
 Sancta salutavit
 Per vatem* dantem
 305 Cur? Quia salvavit
 Et te constantem
 Te lex limavit
 Turpia* vitantem
 Carnem substravit*
 310 Per quod regnantem*
 Fons humectavit*
 Fons qui peccantem
 Seque perennavit*
 Se cancellantem

regimen* cathedrale* beavit;
 crux Christi pontificantem.
 tibi* carmina te vocitavit.
 te canon ius operantem,
 deus hoc in agone notavit.
 in lege dei meditantem,*
 purgavit,* pena* piavit;
 sibi* Willelmus* famulantem,
 rationem vivificavit.*
 te* cancellarie fantem,
 cruce* mundum purificavit.
 tibi Clio,* metra patrantem,
 tibi carmina suppeditavit;*

302. regnum *CL*; chathedrale *L*.
 304. vodem *corrected* natem *B*; crux *LO*.
 305. Crux *CO*.
 307. mediantem, *corrected* meditantem *B*, mediantem *O*.
 308. Turgia *L*; purgatur *corrected* purgatrix *B*, purgatrix *L*, purgat *O*; pia *corrected* pena *O*.
 309. substravit *BO*; tibi *O*; guillelmus *L*.

310. rengnantem *L*; mirificavit *O*.
 311. humestavit, *corrected* humectavit *B*; de *corrected* te *B*.
 312. cuce, *corrected* cruce *B*.
 313. perhemnavit *B*, perhennavit *C*, perempnavit *O*; clyo *L*.
 314. subpeditavit *BC*.

302. *cathedrale*, episcopale *B*.—*beavit*, crux te scilicet *C*.

303. *salutavit*, o tu presul *L*; ad salutem invocavit *O*.—*pontificantem*, te, . . . beneficio episcopi *B*; te scilicet operantem presulari modo *C*.

304. *vatem*, scilicet Iohannem de Garlandia *B*.—*te*, Willelmus *O*.—*vocitavit*, crux *BC*.

305. *Cur*, fuit hoc *C*; est hoc *L*; salvit te illa crux *O*.—*canon ius*, regula iuris *BCL*; canon cecretum ecclesie et ius canon *O*.—*operantem*, iustitiam *CL*.

306. *constantem*, perseverantem *BL*.—*agone*, hic agon, certamen pro Christo *B*; certamine spirituali *C*.—*notavit*, consideravit vel elegit *C*.

307. *lex*, divina pagina *O*.—*limavit*, purgavit *B*; alptavit eo die *L*; divina pagina purgat te a vitio sic lima purgat *O*.—*meditantem*, studentem *B*.

308. *Turpia*, omnia peccata *L*.—*vitantem*, o presul *C*.—*pena*, penitentia *BCL*.—*piavit*, purgavit *C*.

309. Quia ratio regnavit et caro subcumbuit eo die *L*.—*Carnem*, sensualitatem carnis *O*.—*substravit*, supposuit *B*; submittit *O*.—*Willelmus*, episcopus *B*; magister, episcopus *C*; et ille episcopus sic dicens *L*.

310. Eo quod ille se subpeditavit carnem *O* left margin.

311. Laudet cancellarium *C* left margin; Directio ad cancellarium *L* left margin.—*Fons humectavit*, ille dominus irrigavit *O*.—*cancellarie*, o Odo *O*.—*fantem*, predicantem eo die *L*.

312. *Fons*, repetit causa maioris expressionis *L*; ille dominus *O*.—*cruce*, redemptio humani generis facta in cruce *O*.

313. *Seque perempnavit*, hic in signum crucis *C*; perhennem fecit *CLO*.—*Clio*, musa *BCLO*.—*patrantem*, facientem *BC*; se dico, o tu cancellarie *L*.

314. *cancellantem*, transponentem *BCL*; ad modum crucis *O*.—*tibi*, ad commendatum tuum *B*; o cancellarie *C*.—*suppeditavit*, Clio *CO*.

315 Se declaravit
Se tibi dictantem
Pagina* vallavit
Quod* decet optantem

Qui me plasmavit,
320 Me liget* orantem
Qui cruce* nodavit*
Qui cruce* salvantem*

Mundi giravit
Horas equantem
325 Membra* catenavit*
Et concordantem

in Odonis honore morantem,
supponere* non dubitavit.
sacra te peccare vetantem,
sibi* vera* sophia dicavit.

cruce* me iuvet; oro creantem*
sibi qui cruce* cuncta ligavit,
mundum fructumque iuvantem,*
Christum super astra vocavit.*

parallellum crux mediantem
cum* sol hac parte meavit.
animamque deus logicantem,*
qua corpus iners vegetavit.

316. subponere *O*.

317. Pagana, *corrected* Pagina *B*.

318. Per; *corrected* que *B*; sibi *corrected* te *B*; veta
B.

319. cruce *B*; terantem *L*.

320. legat *O*; cruce *B*.

315. *declaravit*, o musa *B*.—*Odonis*, hic
Odo qui postea fuit cardinalis *B*; illius magis-
tri *O*.—*morantem*, se dico *L*.

316. *dubitavit*, Clio *CO*.

317. *Pagina*, teologia sacra *L*.—*vallavit*,
circuivit *C*.—*vetantem*, te *B*; in tua predica-
tione *O*.

318. *Quod*, hoc *L*.—*optantem*, te *CLO*.—
vera sophia, Christus filius dei *O*.—*dicavit*,
copulavit *CLO*.

319. Hic facit orationem pro se ipso *CL*
left margin.—*me*, in primo persone *B*; Iohan-
nem *O*.—*plasmavit*, formavit *CLO*.—*cruce*, ad
modo crucis *L*.—*oro*, ego *L*.—*creantem*, scilicet
cuncta ex nihilo *C*; Christum *L*; creatorem,
meum deum *O*.

320. *liget*, et ille *C*.—*cuncta*, et hinc con-
sonat quod omnia signatur in cruce *C*; omnia
in mundo *L*.

321. *Qui*, Christus *L*.—*nodavit*, ex trans-
versione ligavit *B*; catenavit *C*; conchanevavit
L; firmavit *O*.—*iuvantem*, macerantem
hominem *B*; hominem et alia *CL*.

322. *cruce*, mediante *C*.—*salvantem*,
genus humanum *C*.

321. cruce *B*; ligavit, *corrected* nodavit *L*; vivan-
tem *L*.

322. cruce *B*; salvavit *corrected* salvantem *B*;
notavit *C*.

324. cur *B*.

325. Membra *C*; chatenavit *BL*, catenavit *C*.

323. *giravit*, . . . crux *B*.—*parallellum*,
illum circulum equinoctialem sive solsticialem
O.—*mediantem*, mediantem ipsius mundi hic
girus *B*.

324. *Horas*, per equinoctium *B*; diei *CL*;
diei crucis *O*.—*equantem*, parallellum dico
BL.—*sol*, Christus *C*.—*meavit*, apud nos *CL*.

325. *Membra*, hominum *CL*; corpus
habens ad modum crucis ligni *O*.—*chatenavit*,
coniungit *B*; ligavit *L*.—*animamque*, ration-
antem facientem causam detertere ad causa-
tum *C*.—*logicantem*, ratiocinantem *BL*.—*Ani-
mamque deus logicantem*, Anima mundi est
naturalis vigor ut dicunt philosophi qua res
universe habent vivere, vegetari, sentire et
discernere, et si quis querat quid est mundus,
respondendum est: mundus est ordinata col-
lectio elementorum creatarumque rerum, unde
versus: Mundus, homo mundus, homines ele-
mentaque mundus, Mundus, res vana mundi
mundusque voluptas [*Also quoted in L*, fol.
29r, at end of prologue] *B left margin fol. 6v*
opposite 343.

326. *concordantem*, animam *BCL*; cor-
pori ponderoso *O*.—*qua*, anima *BCO*; cruce
L.—*iners*, ponderosum *B*; *vegetavit*, deus *B*;
movit *CO*; movit se *L*.

	Piscem* quadravit	liquido crux amne* natantem,*
	Alas motantem*	volucrum sua crux agitavit.
	Crux quia mundavit	animam sub labe labantem*
330	In cruce* certantem	se prudens nobilitavit.
	Eva propinavit	mortem cunctos iugulantem;
	Stella set errantem*	maris Evam rectificavit.
	Virgo donavit	agnum,* peccata* piantem,
	Tartara* quassantem,	celum cruce* dum reseravit.*
335	Ergo* placavit	que* nobis virgo tonantem.
	Firmet nutantem	pacem quam fraus violavit.*
	Se* propagavit	Mars sevus* ubique minantem,
	Sevaque plorantem	patre Roma Syon* viduavit.*

327. Pissem B; ampne BO, anme L; necantem O.
 328. modantem, *corrected* motantem B, mocantem CO.
 329. labentem, *corrected* labantem C.
 330. cruxe B.
 332. erantem B.
 333. angnum L; pecata B.

327. *Piscem*, in aqua CL; ut patet in pinnis et capite O.—*quadravit*, crux C.—*crux*, definitio crucis B.

328. *motantem*, lentius moventem B; frequenter L.—*sua*, propria B; propria cancellatio L; propria forma crucis O; cancellatio propria et sic fructum ut patent in . . . C.

329. *Crux*, pertenta crucis O.—*mundavit*, in passione CL.—*animam*, hominem C.—*labe*, peccato BO; sorde peccati L.—*labantem*, cadentem BO; cadentem C.

331. *propinavit*, ministravit in pōtu CLO.—*mortem*, peccati C.—*cunctos*, homines BC.—*iugulantem*, mortem dico CL.

332. Interpretatio pro interpretato BCL *left margin*.—*Stella*, Maria CLO.—*rectificavit*, ob Evam malum B.

333. *Virgo*, Maria O.—*agnum*, Christum CLO.—*piantem*, purgantem BCL.

334. *Tartara*, infernum C.—*quassantem*, frangentem B; agnum dico C.—*reseravit*, portam celi aperuit B.

334. Tartarra O; cruxe B; reseavit O.
 335. Erga, *corrected* Ergo B; que omitted, but added by glossator B.
 336. This line is inserted by glossator in the left margin of B.
 337. Set, *corrected* Se B; semis B.
 338. Sion O; induavit L.

335. Deum qui tonat, . . . ex proprie . . . ipsius dei; nemo enim tonat deo excepto, nullus transiterne dicatur . . . tonat et sentit . . . O *right margin*; Postquam dicta demonstrata per virginem, gratiam C *left margin*.—*nobis*, ad salvationem enim animi B.—*tonantem*, deum BCL.

336. *Firmet*, illa C.—*nutantem*, vacillientem B; cadentem C.—*pacem*, inter imperatorem et papam C; inter papam et inter imperatorem L.—*fraus*, machinatio diaboli O.

337. *Mars*, diabolus C; deus belli O.—*ubique*, inter laicos et clericos L.—*minantem*, se dico BL.

338. *Sevaque*, crudelitates seculi C.—*patre*, papa CL; O! O; Roma, secundum ecclesiam C; romani maledici O.—*Syon*, ecclesiam speculativam in vita eterna B; interpretatur speculatio C.—*viduavit*, privavit patrem patrum, papa, quasi pater patrum B.—Pro domino papa Onoria, adornato papa, exsulato, fletente O *right margin*.

CAPITULUM XIV

PERSUASIO* AD LIBROS PHILOSOPHICOS* PROPTER QUEDAM MODERNA
SCRIPTA INUTILIA ET* AD LAUDEM CANCELLARII*

- Heu,* livor Satane* conatur vespere, mane,
 340 Ad scelus* inmane, studium quod fiat inane!
 Artes ancillas legis corrumpit,* et illas
 Turbat tranquillas, spargens pro luce favillas.
 Civibus insanis clerus perit Aurelianis,
 Iustos pro vanis reputant, sanctosque prophanis.
 345 Stant retro prelati, nec* pro grege sunt clipeati*;

Chapter heading XIV. *Persuaseo B; filosoficos B; et is omitted in BC; cancellarii B; this heading is omitted in O. In B a gloss over scripta reads: studium est fundamentum fidei.*

339. [H]eu LO; sathane BCP.

340. celus B.

341. corrupit CL.

345. ne, corrected nec L; clepeati L.

Chapter XIV. *Heu livor*, In hac satira agit auctor de persecutione studii per invidiam diaboli et reprehendit auctores nequitie ipsius; exclamat ergo sic: heu livor, etc. Invidiosus conatur, id est nititur, artes ancillas, scilicet theologie, corrumpit, id est destruit, spargens id est fundens, favillas, id est doctrinas inutiles, pro luce, id est pro veris et utilibus. Civibus insanis, extra sanitatem positi sunt, clerus, id est clerimonia vel honor clericalis, perit, id est destruitur, quoniam ipsi eives ut idiote nichil scientes, reputant, id est existimant, iustos, id est clericos, pro vanis et vilibus et inutilibus. Stant etc.: hic reprehendit auctor illos qui volunt videri mitrati et nolunt defendere ecclesiam nec volunt armati esse nec clipeis vinciri pro bono ecclesie, set tantum volunt bene comedere et bibere, iuxta illud: non alto cantavere, set alienaverunt plus in salmone quam in Salomone legunt, et aliter: sunt pilati, non prelati videlicet sutores etc. *B left margin, line 5.*

339. *Heu*, ego doleo *B*; dolendum est *L*.—*livor*, invidia diaboli *L*.—*vespere mane*, in omni tempore *BCL*.

340. *scelus*, magnum *O*.—*inmane*, horribile id est magnum *B*; sine bono magnum *L*.—*studium*, scolasticum *B*.—*fiat inane*, adserietur *B*; discipetur *L*.

341. At satanas corrumpit favillas *B*.—*Artes*, liberales *LO*.—*ancillas*, famulas *L*; servulas *O*.—*legis*, divine theologie *B*; divine *CLO*.—*corrumpit*, livor satane, id est nititur corrumpere *O*.—*illas*, artes *C*.

342. *Turbat*, ille livor *L*.—*tranquillas*, dum sunt in tranquillitate *O*.—*pro luce*, bona arte *B*; bona doctrina *L*.—*favillas*, nugatorias, id est leves et inanes doctrinas *B*; pro beata doctrina senes doctrinas *C*.

343. *Civibus*, et hoc dico *BO*.—*insanis*, existentibus *BCL*.—*clerus*, clerimonia *O*.—*Aurelianis*, in civitate Aureliani *B*.

344. *Iustos*, clericos *CL*.—*vanis*, mendacibus *BLO*.—*reputant*, cives Aurelianenses *O*.—*sanctos*, clericos *BC*.—*prophanis*, excommunicatis *BCLO*.

345. *Stant retro*, quando debent succurere clericis *CLO*.—*grege*, clericorum *B*.—*clipeati*, muniti defensione nolunt *L*.

- Nolunt arma pati, gaudent tamen esse mitrati.*
 Scrutator* veri, pie cancellarie* cleri,
 Clerus naucleri vice* te* letatur haberi.
 Effigians mundum nomen geris, Odo, rotundum,
 350 Quo virtus fundum teres in se* fundat* habundum.*
 Florent* auctores* et ab illis floridiores
 Fiunt doctores* et lectris* utiliores.
Doctrinale viam claudens ad* philosophiam*
 Non gerit egregiam linguam* set tautologiam,*
 355 Tardat preproperos,* nec ducit* ad ardua cleros.
 Fallit garciferos* omnis probus,* hoc probat Heros.

346. mircatti *O*.

347. Scrutator que *B*: blurred in *B*.

348. vite *BL*; te inserted in *B*.

350. se corrected te *B*; fundam, corrected fundat *B*;
 haberundum *C*.

351. Flores *C*; autores *LO*.

352. lectores *P*; lectis *P*.

353. est before ad deleted in *C*; philosophyam *L*.

354. ligum *B*; tantologiam *BL*, tanto logiam *O*.

355. preproparos *B*, preproeros *L*, priorprohos *O*;
 due, corrected ducit *B*.

356. garcifferos corrected garciferos *B*; probat, corrected probus *B*, probet *O*.

346. *Nolunt*, prelati *C*.—*arma*, vulnere facta, id est martirizati *B*; pro clericis *L*.—*mitrati*, esse in habitu episcopi *B*.

347. *Scrutator*, inquisitor veritatis, o Odo *L*.—*cancellarie*, ad differentiam cancellariorum curie *B*; o Parisiensis, ad differentiam cancellariorum in curia *C*.

348. *naucleri*, id est rectoris eorum *B*; boni rectoris *L*; rectoris sui *O*.—*vice*, vicissitudine *B*; in vissicitudine *L*.—*letatur*, gaudeatur *B*.

349. *Effigians mundum*, mundum dico figurans, qui rotundus est *L*.—*rotundum*, id est circulare, quod patet si retro sillabicitur Odo *B*; quia sic mundus est rotundus ita tu habes nomen rotundum *O* left margin.

350. *Quo*, nomine, vel Odone *B*.—*fundum*, fundamentum *C*.—*teres*, rotunda *BCO*; *fundat*, firmat *L*.—*habundum*, quia erat . . . et doctior per penitentiam; fundat et stabilitat seculum *B*; fecundum, fertilem omnium virtutum *O*; mansionem habundam *L*.

351. *Florent*, scilicet coloribus rethoricis *B*; dictis et coloribus *L*.—*illis*, auctoribus *BL*.—*floridiores* eloquentiores *BCLO*.

352. *doctores*, scilicet artium *B*.—*lectris*, ad legendum super lectra *L*.—*utiliores*, doctores fiunt *BC*.

353. *Doctrinale*, Hic repreheduntur quidam libri inutiles qui multos docent errores et quod hoc sit verum probat per testes adductos ut patet in littera tantologia; dicitur a tantos quod est fatuus et logos, sermo, quasi fatuus sermo *B* left margin line 18.

354. *Non gerit*, *Doctrinale* *L*.—*egregiam*, ornatam extra gregem aliorum *L*; ornatam linguam *B*.—*tautologiam*, figurativam . . . : et a tantos, idem, et logus, sermo *B*; fatuam linguam *C*.

355. *Tardat*, *Doctrinale* *CL*.—*preproperos*, prefestinos *BO*; festino semper festinantes *C*; prefistinantes *L*.—*ardua*, arduam scientiam *B*; perfectam scientiam *O*; dignitates *L*.—*cleros*, clericos *L*.

356. Hic respondet tacite [o]biectioni. Possit aliquis [d]icere multa bona scribuntur [ab] illo *C* left margin.—*Fallit*, *Doctrinale* *C*.—*Heros*, valiosus vir [Cic. *Q. Rose.* 30] *B*.

- Multotiens* fantur bona qui furiis agitantur,
 Set non laudantur ideo nec magnificentur.*
 Mendax *Grecismus** est Grecis philosophis* mus;
 360 Quando latinismus est* turget mons velut* ismus.*
 Non est Dodona Cereris* condigna* corona,
 Nec* sunt scripta bona que deminuunt* Eliconā.
 Nomina* declinant prave, male verba supinant,*
 Virus quod trutinant pueris pro lacte propinant,
 365 Balsama Galfridi censent* mala,* digna* relidi.

357. Multociens *BLO*.

358. magnificentur, *corrected* magnificentur *B*, mangnificantur *O*.

359. gressimus *L*; filosofis *B*, gresis philosophus *L*.

360. latismus est *corrected* latinismos est *in margin of B*, latinismus *C*; velud *BLO*; ysmus *BL*, hysmus *O*.

361. teris, *corrected* cereris *in the margin of B*; condignā *O*.

362. Non *C*; deminuunt *CO*.

363. Omnia *C*; supinant *B*.

365. censent *L*, essent *O*; mala *corrected* male *B*; dicta *C*, digma *O*.

357. *Multotiens*, nec est mirum si aliquando bona et vera aliqua dixerunt, cum illi qui insani sunt aliquando dicant bona et vera et sic respondet ad antiphoram; nec debent[ur] ideo laudari quoniam scripta illa non sunt bona qui diminuunt eliconā, id est foveant sapientie; mendax etc., est mus animal ridiculum grecis philosophis, quia ipse parum tractat de grecis dictionibus et quasi ridiculose, et quia ipse est latinismus, id est iactat se latinum esse vel tractat de latino, turget velud himus, sicut ille mons. Non est Dodona, silva illa, est digna corona Cereris, id est frugum. Dodona enim est primitiva silva vel habundantia glandium. Et sic per duas similitudines probat libros illos non debere laudari quoniam declinant nomina prave, ut lodex pro lodix, bombex, pro bombix et hoc Doctrinale et multa alia verba sicuti Gressismus viso, visis, visitum, -tu, et similia *B left margin, line 21*.

358. Oratius: Grecis dedit ore rotundo musa loqui [Hor. ars 323, 4] *B right margin*.

359. *Mendax*, in regimen grecorum *L*.—*Grecis*, perfectis *BCL*.—*mus*, ridiculosus, unde Oratius: parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus [Hor. ars 139] *B right margin*; opus ridiculosus *C*.

360. *Quando*, quando *Grecismus O*; loqui more latine *B*; sicut facit in prologo *C*; satis in prologo suo [Eberhardi Bethuniensis *Graecismus*, ed. J. Wrobel, Uratislaviae, 1887, p. 1] *L*.—*turget*, per iactantiam *L*.—*mons*, stans inter Egeum mare et inter Ionium mare *C*; stans inter Egeum mare et Ynonium [*cp. Lucan 1, 100–3*] *L*.

361. *Dodona* il est victus glandium *B*; silva primitiva *CL*; silva primeva *O*.—*Cereris*, deae segetis *B*.—*corona*, melior *L*; laude *O*.

362. *Nec*, a simili *B*.—*Eliconā*, fontem sapientie *BC*; studium *O*.

363. *Nomina declinant*, Doctrinale et *Grecismus CO*; *Grecismus*: ut nocte vel noctu pro nocte; Doctrinale: lodex, bombex, pro lodix, bombix; ut *Grecismus*: die vel diu et plura huiusmodi *B*.

364. *Virus*, venenosa doctrina *CL*; hoc virus, nomen indeclinabile *L*.—*trutinant*, ponderant ad magnam laudem *B*.—*pro lacte propinant*, simplici doctrina ministrant in potu *L*.

365. *Balsama*, suaves doctrine et balsamice *B*.—*Galfridi*, illius magistri *L*; alludit proprio nomini *C*.—*mala*, dicta *L*.—*relidi*, repelli, dampnari *B*; retroponi *C*; condemnari et repelli *L*.

- Que prius abscidi,* que normis absona* vidi,
 Hec scit Galterus, os cuius inaurat Homerus,
 Ornans* sincerus* studium velut* astra galerus,
 Palladis atleta,* stat nomine reque poeta,
 370 Est cuius meta Phebi victoria leta.
 Hic emendetur* error dum tempus habetur,
 Lex talis* detur, id quod cecidit revocetur.
 Vana magistrorum sunt gaudia prima* novorum,
 Hec quia stultorum ludibria sunt satirorum.*
 375 Hic castigetur qui contra iura* movetur,
 Libera servetur lex que clerum moderetur.

366. abscidi *BC*, abscidit, *corrected* abscidi *O*; obsona *C*.

368. Hornans *B*; cincereus, *corrected* cincerus *B*, scincerus *C*, cincerus *O*; velud *BCLO*.

369. adleta *B*, hieta, *corrected* atleta in the text and alletha in the margin of *L*, alleta *O*.

366. *Que*, scilicet quam aliquis alius *B*; dicta mala Doctrinalis et Grecismi *C*.—*abscidi*, removi, reprehendi *B*; recidi *L*.—*normis*, scilicet Prisciani *BL*.—*absona*, discordantia *BC*; contra dicentia *L*.

367. *Hec*, quod multa sunt mala in illis libris *B*.—*Galterus*, magister Anglie *B*; Anglicus *C*.—*os cuius*, eloquentia cuius *L*.—*inaurat*, reddit nobile *L*.

368. *Ornans*, Homerus dico vel *Galterus B*.—*sincerus*, clarus in doctrinis suis *B*.—*velut*, pro sicut *L*.—*astra*, ornat *BC*.—*galerus*, Mercurius, de quo dicit Statius: et temptat astra galerus [Stat. *Theb.* 1, 305] *B*; illud signum scilicet Mercurius galerus *C*.

369. *Palladis*, sapientie bone *B*.—*atleta*, ille dico *BL*; gladiator *C*.—*stat*, permanet *B*.—*poeta*, vocabatur proprie Walterus poeta *B*; Galterus *C*.

370. *cuius*, Galteri *L*.—*meta*, finis *BC*.—*Phebi*, dei sapientie *BCL*.—*victoria*, vel clerie monie *B*.

371. *Hic*, fit petitio ad cancellarium quia sapiens est, discretus ut per sapientiam suam

371. emendatur, *corrected* emendetur *B*.

372. tamen *C*.

373. primia, *corrected* prima *O*.

373-374. These two lines are inserted in the margin of *B* and are omitted in *CL*.

375. vita *O*.

et discretionem corrigat et emendat errorem istum et libri qui debent legi legantur et illi qui iam ceciderunt per istos duos libros, Doctrinale scilicet et Grecismum *B left margin*; in hac universitate, dirigit sermonem ad cancellarium Parisiensem *C*; ad Parisium *L*.—*error*, autorum *L*.

372. *quod cecidit*, ut antiqui libri *C*; ut Virgilius et Lucanus et alii *L*.

374. *Hec*, gaudia *B*.—*ludibria*, deceptiones *B*.—*satirorum*, stultorum *B*.

375. *Hic*, Petit auctor quod illi castigentur qui stulti sunt et qui moventur contra iura; quia quidam fuerunt qui voluerunt destruere auctores et subicere sibi totum clerum et inde hic dicit "libera lex" quoniam multi sunt in puero stulti qui postea per libros sapientes efficiuntur, a Pellide (*sic*), id est sapientia, robore, id est fortitudine *B left margin*; in scolis *C*.—*iura*, scilicet studii *B*.

376. *Libera servetur lex*, libertas clericorum *BCL*.—*moderetur*, regat vel debeat moderari *C*.

Multi sunt stulti, set post a Pallade culti,
 Fiunt consulti, virtutum robore fulti.
 Surgentes mane non vastant tempus inane,
 380 Nec ludunt vane noctu sub luce Diane.

CAPITULUM XV

DE PRELATIS VOLUPTUOSIS ET QUIBUSDAM* AVARIS ET CURIALITATE
 MINISTRANDI CONTRA AVAROS*

Ut* Moysen Ietro, maiores instruo metro,
 Lesus* stans retro serpentis vulnere tetro.*
 Quidam prelati, fortune dote* beati,
 Sunt inpinguati,* fruges consumere nati.

Chapter heading XV. de quibus *C*; avaros reprehensio *C*; omitted or obliterated in *O*.

381. Et corrected ut *B*, [U]t *L*.

382. Ihsus, corrected vel lesus in margin of *L*; retro *O*.

383. doce *LP*.

384. inpingtiati *C*, inpignati *L*, inpingnati *O*, impingati *P*.

377. *Multi*, scolares *CL*.—*stulti*, in iuventute *C*.—*post*, iuventutem *B*.—*culti*, sapientie ornati, fulti *B*.

378. *consulti*, sapientes *C*.—*fuli*, illi dico, appodiati et roborati *B*.

379. *Surgentes*, probitas scolarium *C*.—*mane*, noctu et diu sunt adverbium *L* left margin.—*vastant*, consumunt *BCL*.—*inane*, insaniter *L*.

380. *noctu*, id est per noctem, id est de nocte; nocte est adverbium secundum Priscianum [cf. *Prise. gramm.* III, 73] set secundum grecismum ablativo, nocte, vel -tu *B* left margin, similar in *C*.—*Diane*, lune *BCL*.

Chapter XV. In hac satira reprehendit auctor prelatos de voluptate set primo excusat, dicens: ego enim instruo maiores, scilicet prelatos, eo modo quo Ietro, quidam gentilis, socius Moysi, castigat vel instruit Moysen, et sic per auctoritatem sumptam a

Moyse excusat se, dicit: ego stans retro lesus carie vitiorum, vel machinatione diaboli, vulnere tetro, id est mortali, serpentis, id est diaboli, reprehendo prelatos sicut Ietro Moysen *B* right margin, line 5.

381. Moyses erat puer et incius et conduxit filiam Ietro in uvorem et Ietro, quamvis gentilis, instruxit Moysen quia sapientior erat illo [*Vulg. exod.* 18] *B* right margin, similar in *C*.

382. *Lesus*, exul et peccator, corruptus *B*.—*retro*, scilicet a paradiso in quo diabolus decepit Evam *B*.—*tetro*, crudeli *BC*, obscuro *L*.

383. Quidam quos fortuna iuvat et beati dicuntur, quia fortuna favet eis et ipsi sunt crassi et pingues nati scilicet ad consumendum fruges, id est albos panes *B* right margin.—*beati*, beneficiati *L*.

384. *inpinguati*, habent ventres perambulos *BL*; farsitos *C*.—*nati*, ad consumendum fruges *CL*.

- 385 Vastant murenas, trutas,* vinique lagenas
 Multotiens plenas. Procul excludere* Camenas.
 Carnes* pullinas* lacerant, pinguesque* ferinas;
 Vestes bissinas portant, spernunt* et ovinas.
 Set* sunt peiores qui contempere minores,
 390 Vulgi tortores, Codro* sibi pauperiores.
 Talibus assistant largi cupidisque resistant,
 Quos data contristant, qui crustis alia* pistant.
 Esto dissimilis, tibi mens exsurgat* herilis,*
 Sis licet exilis et sit* tibi natio* vilis.

385. trucas *L*.

386. extrinsere, *corrected* excludere *B*.

387. Carties *B*, Canes *O*; pullunas, *corrected*
 pullinas *B*; pingues *P*.

388. sperunt *L*.

389. Et *P*.

390. quo, *corrected* quodro *B*.

392. allia *CLO*.

393. exurgat *LO*, consurgat *P*; erilis *O*, humiles *P*.

394. tibi et sit *L*, sic *P*; nascio *corrected* nacio *B*.

385. *Vastant murenas*, scilicet lamperias et trutos et illos pisces magnos, potant lagenas plenas usque ad summum. Isti sunt qui excludunt Musas, quas vocat iste auctor Camenas, vel Camenas, id est liberales artes; et ipsi comedunt deliciose carnes pullinas, et induunt vestes bissinas, id est molles, et adhuc peiora faciunt quoniam contempnunt minores et vexant vulgus et fiunt tortores vulgi, et hoc est quod dicit "set sunt peiores," et reprehendit eos de avaritia, quoniam torquendo alios pauperiores efficiuntur Codro, paupere illo, quia quanto magis habet avarus magis cupit: Orco summum mari, etc. et sic avertunt a pauperibus etiam illud quod non habent. Talibus, etc.: hic docet remedium ut tales habeant largos prepositos qui resistunt isti cupiditati, quos data, id est dona, contristant, id est tristes faciunt. Unde Oratius: contristat Aquarius aures [Hor. *sat.* 1, 1, 36], et Claudianus: contristat frigore telam [Claud. *rapt. Pros.* 1, 265]. Qui pistant: a conceptum ipsorum avarorum dictum est qui similes sunt vindemiatoribus qui deferunt serum panes et allia unde: indossant panem eis panem sumat inanem; vel quia tales sunt esto dissimilis eis etc. Et docet vitare omnia predicta, quamvis sis pauper habeas mentem virilem, quoniam paupertas hilaris ditia regna valet *B foot of fol. 7r.—murenas*, LAMPREYS *B*; LAMPREIZ *L.—trutas*, TRUTOZ *L.—lagenas*, quasi latagena *B*; latas habentes genas *L*.

386. *excludere*, excluserunt *L*; prelati *C*.—*camenas*, muſas et sapientias Johannis describentes *B*; musas sapientie *L*.

387. *pullinas*, pullorum *B*.—*lacerant*, prelati detractant *CL*.—*ferinas*, venationes *C*; fenisum *L*.

388. *Vestes*, de serico albo *B*.—*bissinas*, de bisso factas *BCL*; hec bissus est serie albus *B*.—*ovinas*, grossas et viles et non coloratas *B*.

389. *sunt*, quidam *B*.—*peiores*, ipsi prelati *C*.—*contempere*, scilicet per invidiam *B*.—*minores*, pauperes *L*.

390. *Vulgi*, inferiorum *BCL*.—*tortores*, illi dico *BCL*; exactores *B left margin*.—*Codro*, quam Codro *B*; nil habuit Codrus [Juv. 3, 208] *B left margin*.—*pauperiores*, dampnant *B*.

391. *assistant*, iuxta stant *B*.—*largi*, servientes homini *B*.—*cupidis*, dominis suis *BL*.—*resistant*, contradicta[n]t *B*.

392. *Quos*, cupidos *BCL*.—*contristant*, faciant tristes *BL*; contristor, -taris, absolutivum; contristo, -tas, transitivum *B left margin*.—*qui*, cupidi *C*.—*crustis*, partibus duris *B*; partibus panis; hoc crustum, -ti *L*.—*pistant*, pestelent *B*; CHANSENT *C*; dossunt *L*.—Indossat panem ne panem sumat inanem *B right margin*, *L left margin*.

393. *dissimilis*, scilicet avaro *B*.—*herilis*, virilis *B*; virulis [sic] et nobilis *L*.

394. *licet*, pro quamvis *L*.—*exilis*, pauper *BL*.—*natio vilis*, de vili patria *B*; et quamvis, de Anglica vel de Scotica *L*.

CAPITULUM XVI

DE MINISTRATIONE DECENTI*

- 395 Disce* ministrare, dapibus sua iura parare,
 Grata propinare, pro tempore pauca locare.*
 Secerno* flores, iterum sparguntur honores
 Aule, lectores ut fiant floridiores.*
 Da* iuxta morem,* dextra preeunte, saporem;
 400 Fercula sessorem* dapifer locet ante priorem.
 Sume pedem patere,* qua labes* ulla* patere
 Non queat a latere,* que vult ratione latere.
 Haustum glutones ducunt, pausant epulones,*

Chapter heading XVI. Completed as follows by a gloss, in cena, et reprehenduntur qui nesciunt hospites recipere B; De ministratione decenti, hic reprehenduntur rustici et interseruntur curialitates C; omitted in O, no new paragraph in O.

395. iste C, [D]isse L.

396. loquare, corrected locare B, loquare P.

397. Set cerno O.

398. floriores, corrected floridiores C.

399. Dat C; mortem O.

400. sefforem C, sesforem L, selsorem O.

401. patere omitted, but inserted by glossator in C; laybes B; nulla O, the glossator added n to ulla in B.

402. .a. latere O, alatere LP.

403. epuloes B, epiliones L, ephilones P.

Chapter XVI. *Disce ministrare*, Materia huius capituli est de decenti curialitate mense. Docet enim in hac satira quod unusquisque debet scire parare dapes et sapes qui conveniunt dapibus; dicit ergo "disce ministrare," id est ministrando parare dapibus sua iura, id est suos sapes vel sua brodia, et sciat propinare, id est parare, sciat convenientia; pro tempore, secundum exigentiam temporis B foot of fol. 7r, in the middle of line 7.

395. *Disce*, o patrefamilias.—*ministrare*, in comestione BC, in mensa L.—*iura parare*, salsamenta propria BCL.

396. *Grata*, vina acceptabilia BC.—*pro tempore*, secundum tempus BCL.—*pauca*, vina BC.—*locare*, ponere BC.—Dicit enim Salomon: Melior est pugillus cum requie, quam plena utraque manus cum labore, et afflictione animi [Vulg. eccles. 4, 6] B right margin.

397. *Secerno flores*, divido curialitates BCL.—*honores*, mores honorabiles BC.

398. *lectores*, huius libri BCL.—*floridiores*, curialiores B; sapientiores L.

399. *Da iuxta morem*, id est secundum morem, quia in dextera debes ferre saporem,

in sinistra platellum, et debes ferre semper prima fercula ad illum qui sedet ad caput mense; et docet etiam quomodo accipias ciphum. Debes accipere ciphum per pedem ne si forte manus tua sordida fuerit, tu deturpes ciphum et macules ipsum potum. Ostenditur etiam hic quoniam debetis esse urbani comestores et potatores nec debetis nimium comedere vel bibere sicut faciunt gurguliones, id est glutones qui censent in gutture. Et est vermis quidam gurgulio, unde Virgilius: pellitque (populat, devastat) ingentem farris acervum gurgulio [Verg. georg. 1, 185-6]. Alia precepta huius satire satis patent in littera B left margin.—*saporem*, salsamentum BC.

400. *locet*, ponet BCL.—*priorem*, non semper ante maiorem BL; non separando minorem C.

401. *patere*, ciphi BL.—*labes*, queat B; ciphi C.—*patere*, aparere extra BC.

402. *a latere*, extra B.—*que*, labes BCL.—*ratione*, curialitates B; locus et tempus impescant L.

403. *Haustum*, attrahunt vinum cum magno haustu BC.—*pausant*, requiem sumunt in potu BC.—*epulones*, comestores, Dives epulo fuit B; glutum L.

- Qui quasi burdones vivunt et gurguliones.*
 405 Funde manu* gemina sine dampno de prope vina,
 Panes in gemina palmasque* ferendo* supina.
 Stent ibi* presentes, manutergia* munda gerentes,
 Quod deest* suppletes* dominis* cultuque decentes.
 Ne rexisse chorum* videar fortasse coquorum,*
 410 De iocundorum nichil ordiar* arte ciborum.
 Que dantur solide carnes quascumque recide,
 Alas dum calide sunt* alitis* arte* relide.*
 Vix infirmatur post prandia qui spatiat
 Aut declinatur in sompnum* quem moderatur.
 415 Si te* sanare cupis et lapsum revocare,

404. surguliones, corrected gurguliones *B*.

405. viam, corrected manu *B*, viam *O*.

406. palmaque *P*; ferendo *B*.

407. hii, corrected ibi *B*; manitergia, corrected manutergia *B*.

408. est, corrected deest *B*; suplentes *CLO*; dicimus *C*, dominum *O*.

409. corum *O*; cocorum *CLO*.

410. ordear *B*, ordear, corrected ordiar *C*.

412. sunt inserted in *O*; alitis sunt *B* with a mark indicating that the two words should be transposed; ate, corrected arte *B*; reside *O*; this line is inserted in the margin of *L*.

413-414. These lines are quoted in the Commentarius, in *Bruges MS 546*, fol. 83.

414. sopnum *C*.

415. Arte, corrected Si te *O*.

404. *Qui*, *Epulones C*.—*burdones*, equi immundi et naturales, *AVERS B*; equi innaturales *C*.—*gurguliones*, vermes totum in gutture congellantes. *Gurgulio* est vermis comedans fabas et pisa *B*; vermis totum consumens et existens in gutture *C*; *Populatque* ingentem farris aservum *gurgulio* [*Verg. georg.* 1, 185-6] *L* right margin.

405. *sine dampno*, effusione vini *C*.—*de prope*, adverbium *B*.

406. *gemina*, duplica *B*; duplici *C*; *stes* semper panes duos *L*.—*palmas*, manus *BL*.—*supina*, eleva, unde *supina* dicuntur elevata verba *B*.

407. *presentes*, quidam servi *O*.—*gerentes*, servientes *L*.

408. *suplentes*, servi dico, id est perficientes *B*.—*cultu*, ornatu *B*.

409. *chorum*, societatem *C*.—*coquorum*, sicut *Nabusardan*, princeps cocorum sub *Nabugodanozar*, qui destruxit templum domini, id est animam [*Vulg. Ier.* 52, 12 ff., and *IV reg.* 25, 8 ff.]; deus enim non habitat in gula. Unde: templum domini quod estis vos *B*.

410. *iocundorum*, delectabilium *BC*.—*ordiar*, ordinabo *B*; incipiam *CLO*.—*ciborum*, delectabilium *L*.

411. *Que*, carnes *BC*.—*solide*, in solida substantia et non in brodio *B*.—*recide*, inpreterito, id est scinde *B*; cum cultello *L*; ut carnes ovina et bovinas *O*.

412. *arte*, cito *B*; cultelli *C*.—*relide*, *ARACHE*, repelle, id est detrahe *B*; expelle *L*; abstracte *O*.

413. *Vix infirmatur*, infirmo vias ad temperantiam *B*; vix incidit in infirmitate *O*.—*spatiat*, *ABANIER L*.

414. *quem moderatur*, modice sumat secundum illud: Aut brevis aut nullus sit somnus meridianus [*Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, ed. by F. R. Packard and F. H. Garrison, New York, 1920, p. 160; Salvatore de Renzi, *Collectio salernitana*, I, 449, l. 143] *O*, similar in *B*.

415. *sanare*, sanum esse si infirmaris *O*.—*lapsum*, scilicet te, enim timentem egrotari *B*.—*revocare*, ad sanitatem *B*.

Si vis durare sanus, potum moderare.*
 Omnes impuri* vivunt qui sunt Epicuri,
 Cecati, duri, putres,* subito morituri.
 Se* bene pincerna regat ad commissa* Phalerna,*
 420 Nec titubet verna dum pocula siccet* acerna.
 Dum* largo* detur, sub avaro clam rapietur.
 Danti prebetur, qui non dat inops* morietur.

CAPITULUM XVII

DE MATERIA AD MATERIAM*

Hec* est lex satire:* vitiis ridere, salire,
 Mores excire,* que feda latent aperire.

416. reserare *corrected* moderare *L.*

417. impuri *P.*

418. putēs *corrected* putres *B.*

419. Si *L.*; comissa *C.*; pfalerna *B.*, fallerna *L.*

420. siccet *O.*

421. Sub *BLO*; laudo *corrected* largo *O.*

422. inpos *corrected* inobs *L.*

416. *durare sanus*, scilicet ante statum egritudinis *B.*—*moderare*, moderantur pota *BC.*

417. Ostenditur conveniens ex gulositati *B left margin*.—*Epicuri*, qui vivunt ad modum Epicurorum; curantes eutem *B.*; voluptuosi curantes eutem ultra modum *L.*; gulosi et voluptuosi *O.*

418. *Cecati*, Epicuri *B.*—*putres*, hic et hec putris et hoc putre, a putisso, -sas, frequenter potare. Putri *B.*—*subito morituri*, incurrunt epilenciam *B.*; epilenziam *C.*; epilenciam, quidam morbus *L.*

419. *pincerna*, dicitur de procul et pina quod est fames; et notandum quod triplex secta, scilicet Epicuri qui dicebant volu[p]-tatem esse summum bonum in vita, Stoici qui dicebant omnia peccata equaliter esse puni-enda, Peripatetici sequaces horum erant; unde: date et dabitur vobis; poculum, id est ciphus, unde Virgilius: Duo pocula fragmina nobis trado [Verg. *ecl.* 3, 44] *B left margin opposite line 404*; pincam cernens *L.*—*commissa*, scilicet sibi a domino *B.*; ad vina comissa sibi in custodiam *O.*—*Phalerna*, vina a Phalerne monte; at ponit continens pro contento *C.*

Chapter heading XVII. de ypocritis *is added*, and a gloss explains, hec satira reprehendit ypocritas tristes qui dicuntur papelardi, quasi largum [lardum] papantes in obscuro *B.*; de papelardis *CO*; de papilardis *L.*

423. [H]ec *LO*; sathire *B.*

424. excire, *corrected* excire *B.*, exire *LO.*

420. *titubet*, cadat, id est servus *B.*—*verna*, serviens *LO.*—*pocula*, Poculum est actus potandi vel instrumentum ut ciphus *B left margin*; cinos *O.*—*siccet*, siccando evacuat *BC.*—*acerna*, ciphos de acere factos *B.*; pocula de acerno, et ponit continens pro contento *C.*; ARABLIN *B.*; MAPELZ *L.*

421. *largo*, homine *BCL.*—*detur*, impersonaliter *BC.*—*avaro*, domino *B.*; homine *CL.*—*rapietur*, rapina fiet; impersonaliter *BC.*

422. *prebetur* impersonaliter *BC.*—*inops*, pauper *B.*—*morietur*, impersonaliter *C.*

Chapter XVII. In hac satira reprehendit auctor ipocritas et in principio ponit proprietates ipsius satire dicens "discunt etc." Reprehenduntur ergo isti qui fingunt se esse simplices et non sunt et multiplicant croas, id est terram pendentem a fimbriis vestis *B left margin*.—Indignans satyra deridet, nudat aperta, voce salto, intus feret, agreste sapit *C right margin*.

423. *vitiis*, preter *B.*; super vitia *C.*—*salire*, de materia ad materiam *CL.*

424. *Mores*, hominum *O.*—*excire*, commovere *BCO*; suscitare *C.*—*latent*, sine nomine *B.*; cum non specificando aliquam *L.*—*aperire*, ostendere *C.*; manifestare *O.*

- 425 Discunt ignotas* quidam simulare melotas,*
 Multiplicant* crotas, laxasque* ferunt pede botas,
 Sunt foris agnini,* cordis feritate lupini,
 Luxu* caprini, secreto dente canini.
 Me mordere meam gaudent* propter Galatheam:*
 430 Absit quod teneam tamen* infamem* Cytheream!*

CAPITULUM XVIII

DE PRELATIS PERFECTIS*

- Quidam* perfecti regnant,* celoque refecti,
 Mundo despecti, gradientes tramite recti.
 Hos tamquam* spine vestes pungunt cilicine,*
 Deliciisque sine tenues pavere coquine.
 435 Extra sunt vestes sumptu* de divite testes,
 Set* pulicum pestes tolerant,* carnem prope restes.*

425. ignotas *O*; melatas *P*.
 426. Multiplicantque *OP*, que added in *B*; laxans-
 que *C*.
 427. agnini *O*. 428. · Luxi *P*.
 429. cupiunt *Q*; cithaream *L*.
 430. cum *O*; inflamam *P*; cithaream *C*, galatheam
L, cithaream *OP*.

425. *ignotas*, latentes *B*; incognitas humilitatis *C*.—*quidam*, ypocrite *BCLO*; *simulare*, imitare *BC*.—*melotas*, est melota idem quod taxus; TESOUN; TEISUN; circuivi in melotis, id est in pellibus taxi *B*; humiles bestias, TESSUNS *L*; ipocritas *BC*.

426. *Multiplicant*, CROTEZ *L*.—*crotas*, pilulas terreas circa capam *B*; pilas de luto *C*; pilos lutosos *L*; pilas luteas in vestibus *O*.—*ferunt*, fero, fers *B*.—*botas*, calciamenta larga *B*; crepitas calciamenta *C*; calciamenta, et ita pretendunt falsam humilitatem *O*.

427. *agnini*, mansueti sicut agni *B*.—*feritate lupini*, interius, id est rapaces *B*; raptore et severi ad modum lupi *O*.

428. *Luxu*, luxuria *BCL*.—*caprini*, quia fetent *C*; illi fetidi admodum caprarum *L*; CHEVERIERS *B*.—*secreto dente*, secreta detractio *BLO*.—*canini*, canis, CHENINS *B*; mordente ad modum canis *O*.

429. *mordere*, reprehendere occulte *B*.—*Galatheam*, albam puellam meam; gala, lac, theos, deus, quasi, lactea dea *B*; propter meam amicam, et dicitur a galat quod est lac, et tea quod est dea, quasi lacea dea, id est pulcra et alba ad modum lactis *O*.

Chapter heading XVIII. *refectis*, corrected perfectis *B*.

431. [Q]uidam *LO*; regant *L*.
 433. tanquam *BCLP*; scilicine *L*, silicine *P*.
 435. sumptu, corrected cultu *B*, suptu *C*.
 436. Sunt *C*; portant *L*; vestes, corrected restes *B*.

430. *teneam*, ut ipsi faciant *L*.—*infamem*, impudicam *B*.—*Cithaream*, impudicam meretricem, vel Venerem, a Cithareo monte ubi colebatur *B*.

431. *perfecti*, prelati quia virtuosus *CL*; prelati religiosi *O*.—*refecti*, dono sancti spiritus repleti *B*.

432. *Mundo*, a mundanis *B*.—*gradientes*, cedentes *B*.—*tramite*, semita *B*; via *C*.—*recti*, iustitie, iuris *B*.

433. *Hos*, perfectos *BC*.—*cilicine*, de cilicio, de scindo, -dis; HEIRINE, sylici *B*; de ciliceo facte, et dicitur cilicium de cind[e]ndis quia sindit carmen et . . . *O*.

434. *tenues*, pauperes *C*; hos perfectos *O*.—*pavere* hos; pasco, -cis *B*.—*coquine*, cibi *B*; pauca cibaria *CL*.

435. *vestes*, sue *B*; pulcre *C*.—*divite*, cultu *B*; de expensa *C*; pulcre de foris *L*.

436. *pulicum*, et pudiculorum, id est persecutiones, id est patiuntur; pulex, vermis, hic pulex, -cis *B*; et pudiculorum, per sermones prelati patiuntur *C*; fle vermium mo[r]sus *O*.—*restes*, cordax *C*; cordas *LO*.

CAPITULUM XIX

DE MONACHIS MALIS ET BONIS

Sunt* quidam monachi ructantes pocula Bachi
 In clauastro stomachi dum saltat fervor Iachi.*
 Veste nigra multi candent* virtute reculti;
 440 Casti, consulti, divina lege refulti.

CAPITULUM XX

INCIPIUNT* SEPTEM CURIALITATES SECUNDUM TALETEM MILLESIUM QUAS
 IPSE SCRIBIT* AUREIS* LITERIS* IN COLOSSO ROME*

Millesius* vates urbanas* proprietates
 Has dedit; huic* grates cumulemus* ob* has probitates.*
 Sobria privatis privati corda geratis;
 Publica ducatis peragenda genis hilaratis;*
 445 Tu sis ignotis affabilis et tibi notis;
 Viribus et totis litem sociis fuge motis;

437. [S]unt LO.

438. hyachi B, hiaci C, hiachi O, hyaci P.

439. candunt L.

Chapter heading XX. Hic incipiunt L; scripsit L, scriptis O; aureas O; litteris L; collo sodome, corrected colosso sodome B, collosodome L. This heading is obscured by the binding in C, but it is clear that it

437. *ructantes pocula*, ex gula emittentes B, emittentes a stomacho O.—*Bachi*, boni vini O.

438. *clauastro*, interiore ventris B.—*fervor Iachi*, calor Bachi; ab hio, -ias, quia facit hominem hiare, B; ardor vini L.

439. *multi*, homines C; *monachi* LO.—*candent*, candore interiori B.—*reculti*, expoliti B; acistes O.

440. *consulti*, quia temperant gulam BC.—*refulti*, ferviati BL; appodiati O.

441. *Millesius*, Millesie, -arum, liber est Taletis in quibus infinite sunt fabule B left margin; Milesius vocabatur a multitudine fabularum B right margin; proprium nomen O.—*vates*, Tales CL.—*urbanas*, urbanitates O.—*proprietates*, scilicet vii curialitates L.—Johannes Crisostomus: Vera pax est contra vitia litigare et virtutibus concordare [cp.

ends in sodome. L fails to begin a new chapter at this point, but the error is indicated. The seven proprietates and the seven rusticities are listed in P, fol. 103v.

441. Missesius C, Millecius L, [M]illesus O; urbanas L.

442. hinc L, vie O; anulevius, corrected emulemus L; ob omitted L; proprietates C.

444. hyllaratis B, illaratis L.

Chrysos. (St.) in Matth. XXXV al. XXXVI (Migne Patr. Gr. 57, col. 405)] B right margin.

442. hinc, vati C; cumulemus, confaramus B.—ob, propter B.—*probitates*, urbanitates quas debet probus habere B.

443. Primum preceptum BC.—*privatis privati*, famulis id est FAMILIERS B; amicis, familiares C; scilicet proprie est familie L.—*geratis*, o vos BC.

444. Secundum preceptum B.—*Esto letus in publicis negotiis* B.—*Publica*, publica negotia B; communia negotia O.—*ducatis*, reputetis C; faciatis L.—*genis hilaratis*, vultibus letis L.

445. Tertium preceptum B.—*Tu, tui* C.—*ignotis*, extraneis L.—*affabilis*, ARENABLE, salutans omnes C.—*notis*, saluta omnes B.

446. Quartum preceptum B.—*motis*, iratis BC.

- Turpia* iocundus tege* risu mente* rotundus*;
 Et dapibus mundus,* sis* hostibus* hospes* habundus;
 Depressus* stare discas, letum moderare.
 450 Septem scrutare, conare faceta parare.
 Hiis* exorneris,* qui* philosophum* profiteris;
 Non urbana geris, ergo ruralis haberis.

CAPITULUM XXI

DE SEPTEM RUSTICITATIBUS SECUNDUM TALETEM*

- Quamvis* sis Socrates, es fossor habens ruditates.*
 Septem quas vates signat* fuge rusticitates:
 455 Vox levis in mensa* rudis est pro tempore* pensa;
 Ignotis* tensa presumptio* rixaque densa;
 Es rudis* ingratus; et egenis inmoderatus*;

447. turpe *L*; rege *C*; inde *L*; rotundis, *corrected* rotundus *C*.

448. mundis *C*; his *L*; hospibus *corrected* hostibus *B*; hospes *omitted*, but added by glossator in *C*.

449. Depresus *L*.

451. His *L*; exhorneris *B*; ad *L*; filosofum *BO*, filosofum *L*.

447. Quintum preceptum *B*.—*Turpia*, casus turpes iocundo modo *B*; vitia ceciorum et rusticitates *O*.—*risu*, gubernam cum letitia *C*.—*rotundus*, perfectus *BC*; si aliud rusticum accedat sanctimonio suo tege illud risu *O* right margin.

448. Sextum preceptum *B*.—*dapibus*, vel in administratione dapium, in preparando dapes *B*.—*mundus*, perfectus in consilio *L*.—*hostibus*, inimicis tuis. Salomon: Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum, si sitierit, da ei aquam bibere [*Vulg. prov.* 25, 21] *B* right margin, similar in *O*.—*habundus*, largus *B*; fertilis *C*.

449. Septimum [preceptum] *B*. Inter dampna mentem eriga te letum; ne nimis elatus sis in prosperitatibus nec nimis depressus in adversitatibus *B*, similar in *C* and *O*.

450. *faceta*, istas vii faceseias *O*.

451. *Hiis*, curialitatibus predictis *L*.—*philosophum*, te *BC*; qui *L*; clericum *O*.

Chapter heading XXI. De prelati reflectis *B* caletem *O*.

453. [Q]uamvis *LO*; fassor ruditates *L*.

454. signat *L*.

455. immensa *C*; in tempore *B*.

456. Ignotis *CO*; presumpsio *L*.

457. rudus *L*; in moderatus *C*.

452. *urbana*, curialitates *BC*; urbanitates *O*.—*ruralis*, rusticus *BCLO*.

453. *Socrates*, optimus clericus *BC*.—*fossor*, rusticus *BCL*.

454. *vates*, nomine Tales *B*; Taletis Milesius ergo *O*.—*signat*, ostendit *C*.

455. Primum vitium *B*.—*Vox levis*, volatilis sermo *BCL*; loquacitis *B*; Salomon: Impatiens operatur stultitiam, et verbosus odiosus est [*Vulg. prov.* 14, 17] *M*.—*pro tempore*, secundum locum et tempus *L*.—*pensa*, in mensa data *C*.

456. Secundum [vitium] *B*.—*tensa*, magna rudis est *B*.—*presumptio*, superbia *BCLO*.—*rixa*, contentio *C*.—*densa*, spissa *C*. Quasi dicat: noli esse presumptiosum *O*.

457. Tertium [vitium] *B*.—*ingratus*, in gratando data tibi *C*; tu, id est, non reddens grates *B*.—*egenis*, Quartum vitium; pauperibus *CL*.—*inmoderatus*, austerus *B*.

Caris elatus,* consortibus es reprobatus;
 Consilium spernis tibi dampnum rustice cernis;
 460 Obstans eternis rationis es absque lucernis.*
 Condita non atro sunt* hec set scripta theatro.*
 Hec* fuge ne baratro sis traditus obice clatro.

CAPITULUM XXII

DE PATIENTIA SECUNDUM SEX OPERA MISERICORDIE*

Hiis* urbanus* eris si factis* sex misereris:
 Nocte thoros miseris si* das,* egrisque mederis,*
 465 Si frigescenti* vestem,* victumque petenti,
 Solamen flenti donas,* potum sicienti.*

458. ellatus *L*.

460. supernis, *corrected* lucernis *C*; *this line is inserted in the margin of L*.

461. sunt atro non *C*; teatro *BCL*.

462. Hoc *C*.

Chapter heading XXII. Hec sunt opera misericordie *O*.

458. Quintum [vitium] *C*.—*elatus*, superbus *BCLO*.—*consortibus*, tuis *L*.—*reprobatus*, dampnatus a sociis tuis *B*.

459. Sextum vitium *B*.—Salomon: Sapiens audit consilium, et stultus vindicat iram suam statim [*Vulg. prov.* 12, 15–16] *B*.

460. Septimum vitium *B*.—*Obstans eternis*, rebellio in deum, id est repugnantia sancta necessitati *B*.—*absque lucernis*, divinis quasi eternitatibus, id est radiis rationis *B*.

461. *Condita non sunt*, abscondita *B*.—*non atro*, obscuro que scripta sunt de curialitate *B*.—*theatro*, in colosso *B*, in publico loco *C*; scilicet in registro *L*; palatio *O*.

462. *Hec*, vitia que scripta *B*.—*baratro*, hoc [bara]trum *B*; inferno *C*.—*clatro*, hic clatrus, id est repagulo obstante tibi; *BARRE*; Oratius: Non secus accursus valuit suffrangere clatros [*Hor. ars* 472–3] *B*; *BARRE L*.

463. *Hiis*, predictis *B*; dictis sequentibus *C*.—*factis sex misereris*, si misericordiam

463. His *C*, [H]is *L*; urbanu *corrected* urbanus *L*, hurbanus *O*; factus *L*.

464. si *omitted C*; da *corrected* das *C*, des *L*; medereris *L*.

465. frigescenti *L*; vestes *B*.

466. dones *O*; sicienti *CO*.

habes vel sex opera misericordie *B*; septimum opus est sepelire mortuos *L*.

464. Primum opus misericordie *B*.—*thoros*, hospitium *BC*.—*egrisque mederis*, secundum [opus misericordie] *BC*; medicina das *B*; si insides infirmos *C*; visites egris *L*.

465. Tertium [opus] *BC*.—*Si*, dederis nudo *B*; pauperis *O*.—*victumque petenti*, quartum opus misericordie *B*; si refficis pauperem *BL*.—*victum*, cibum *BO*.

466. *Solamen*, Quintum [opus] *B*; Si consolaris tristes *BCL*.—*potum*, sextum (opus) *B*; septimum est sepellire mortuos in tempore belli *B*; septimum aposuit Tobias: est sepelire funeratus [*Vulg. Tob.* 1, 21 and 2, 3–9] *O*.—Disce deum colere nomenque dei reverere; sabata sanctifices et honoret quisque parentes; noli metari, noli decede vocari furta canes fieri, non sis testis nisi veri, non violes nuptas, nec res cupias alienas *O left margin*.

CAPITULUM XXIII

HOC CAPITULUM EXCUSAT DOMINUM PAPAM QUOD* NON EST SIMONIACUS*

- Dixit* romipeta fuerat mihi patria spreta.*
 Roma vie meta, gazis et* gente repleta,
 Roma capud mundi, nummi* regina rotundi,
 470 Se facit effundi propria virtute retundi.
 Parte tamen pura, que servat regia iura,*
 Pars est inpura* parti pure* nocitura;
 Papam tempestat,* qui Christi pondera gestat,
 Nescius et restat quot in orbe Simon* mala prestat.
 475 Mundatur totus infans baptisinate lotus*
 Quamvis forte nothus* sit, patris crimine notus;
 Quod* pater enormat baptisimi* forma reformat.
 Set se deformat* vendens quod gratia format.
 Ut dispensetur* super hoc modo Roma petetur.

Chapter heading XXIII. quod ipse C; symoniacus B; this heading is omitted in O.

467. [D]ixit LO; scripta, corrected spreta B.

468. que L.

469. mundi O.

471. cura L.

472. in pura L; puee L.

467. *romipeta*, quidam veniens de Roma, de Roma et peto, -tis B; alienis terris O.—*mihi*, a me B.—*patria*, mea CL.

468. *Roma vie meta*, nolo ulterius ire BC; quod non irem ulterius L.—*vie*, mee C.—*meta*, finis L.—*repleta*, Roma BCL.

469. *nummi regina*, Roma C; scilicet retinendum et non dandum O.

470. *effundi*, dilatari per propriam, id est propria vi B; spargi CL.—*retundi*, destrui vel edomari; referri B.

471. *Parte*, existente BC; partibus romanis B left margin; illa civium existente L.—*que*, pars BC.—*regia iura*, que reges statuerunt CL.

472. *Pars*, civium C.—*inpura*, non munda.—*parti pure*, viris sanctis de concilio domini pape O.—*nocitura*, pars inpura B.

473. *tempestat*, illa pars mala L.—*qui*, papa BCL.—*gestat*, officium Christi in terra B.

473. *tempestat* corrected *tempestat* C.

474. *symon* BL.

475. *locus* O.

476. *locus* corrected *nothus* L.

477. *Quem* C; *baptisimi* C.

478. *de se* format L.

479. *dispensetur* LO.

474. *restat*, Papa BO.—*Simon*, simoniacum a Simone Mago qui fuit simoniacus per promissionem pecunie infinite quam promisit sancto Petro [cp. *Vulg. act.* 8, 9-24] B right margin.

475. *Mundatur*, originale peccatum contractum a primis parentibus illud mundatur B, similar in O.—*lotus*, grata divina O.

476. *nothus*, prostibulo genitus, id est BASTARD B; bastardus CL.—*crimine notus*, filius presbiteri, scilicet defamatus crimine L; notabilis, infamatus B; diffamatus C.

477. *enormat*, deturpat in generando per peccatum O.—*reformat*, de puero dicitur, filius non portat peccata patris eternaliter B; restituit imaginem dei C.

478. *deformat*, deturpat B; per peccatum CL.—*vendens*, sacerdos B; papa vel sacerdos C; aliquis LO.—*quod*, spiritualia B.—*gratia*, baptismum B; donum sancti spiritus O.

479. *Ut dispensetur*, dispensatio. fiat BCO; dispensatio est relaxatio rigoris iuris B. *super hoc*, propter hoc L.

- 480 Rumor deletur si* Rome formula detur.
 Set castigandi causa non dico parandi
 Lucrum, set standi caste* luxumque domandi.
 Huc* portat* mores, petat* inde scholaris honores;
 Hic intrare fores rectas didicere* priores.
 485 Parisius discas ne Rome forte* deiscas.*
 Scire prius gliscas nec promere* scita* tremiscas.
 Parisius pono Romam, Martis quia* cono
 Eloquique* sono nitet,* etheris ardua dono.
 Non deridebo* iustos, probra siqua videbo*
 490 Scutum prebebo* quo patrum* iura tenebo.
 Si vas sincerum,* si pectus iure severum
 Incrustas, verum non dicis* pessime* rerum.

480. set O.

482. casti O.

483. Hunc corrected huc C; portat shows that the fifth letter was corrected in B, portet CO; petet O.

484. dedissere L.

485. forme L; diescas L.

486. promerere O; sita L.

487. que C, que corrected quia L.

488. Eloquique B; lucet L.

489. diridebo B; lines 488 and 489 are transposed but the error is corrected in B.

490. probebo O; patrem CO.

491. scincerum CO, cinsereum L.

492. dicas corrected dicis B; pessima C.

480. *Rumor*, infamia BCL.—*Rome*, ecclesie romane B.—*formula*, dispensationis vel legitimisationis bulla domini pape B.

481. *castigandi*, capit denarios B; capiunt nummos in curia L; quando capiunt nummos O.—*parandi*, causa lucrum B.

482. *standi*, causa permanendi B; ut fecit O.—*luxum*, luxuriam C.—*domandi*, set causa B.

483. *portat*, apud Romam BL.—*mores*, rumores B.—*inde*, consequenter B; ex hoc C; propter hoc L.—*honores*, dignitates in causas et patrimonium suum O.

484. *Hic intrare*, curia romana per sentias O.—*rectas*, recto modo B.—*priores*, nostri predecessores antiqui B.—qui aliunde intrat quam per hostium fur est et latro B.

485. *Parisius*, et ubicumque viget studium B; ubi viget studium C; studium verbi vides O.—*deiscas*, deficias BCLO.

486. *Scire prius gliscas*, quam ostendes L.—*promere*, ad ostendum B.—*scita*, scilicet verba C; res citas L.—*tremiscas*, non habeas timorem CL.

487. *Parisius*, excellentiam cleri L; esse O.—*pono*, super B.—*Romam*, dignitatem B; excellentiam anime O.—*Martis*, militie disputationis B; dei belli O.—*quia*, nitet L.—*cono*, excellentia vel galea B; summitate CO; dignitate L.—quia ibi fuit Mars B.

488. *Eloquii*, eloquentie BL.—*sono*, per sono L. *nitet*, Parisius BC.—*etheris*, celi B; spiritus sancti CL.—*ardua*, Parisius dico B; civitas Parisiensis O; illa dico L; civitas scilicet Roma C.

490. *Scutum*, defensionem BCLO.—*quo*, scuto C.—*patrum*, prelatorum BCL.—*tenebo*, defendam B.

491. *vas sincerum*, cor viri iusti quando est fractum B [cp. Hor. sat. 1, 3, 55–6].—*iure*, alio modo iure sancti spiritus O.—*severum*, rigidum BCLO.

492. *Incrustas*, si tu, id est deturpas B; Incrustare proprie est parare et ligare ciphos B left margin.—*pessime*, o tu detractor B; pessima res L.—Ipsi querunt nodum in scirpo, scrupulum in plano [cp. Enn. ap. Fest. p. 330 Plaut. Men. 247; Ter. Andr. 941; Alan. de Insul. lib. parab. 3 (Migne, 210, 287B)] B right margin.

Raptus, mors, alape, non sunt obprobria pape.
 Set mundi satrape peccant post pocula sape,
 495 Sepius insultant Christo spoliis que resultant,
 Et clerum mulctant,* et predi tecta facultant.*

CAPITULUM XXIV

PERSUASIO* UT ROMANI ET IMPERATOR CRUCEM CAPIANT

Roma* triumphalis, proba* gens, locus imperialis,*
 Cur ascripta* malis est tantis mansio talis?
 Hic est fons* fidei, sol nostre causa diei,*
 500 Mensa refecta dei, domus officiosa* Zachei.

496. *multant LO; this line is inserted in the margin of L.*

Chapter heading XXIV. *Persuaseo B.*

497. [R]oma *BLO*; probans *C*; imperialis *LO*.

493. *Raptus*, rapine *B*.—*mors*, occisio *B*.—*alape*, violentia verba *BC*.—*pape*, ipse non est causa movens; genitive *B*.

494. *satrape*, *VAVASURS B*; satrapa per militis set non miles; a satrapea regione; qui gaudent dignitate militari *B left margin*; pares militibus *C*.—*sape*, vini fortissimi et cocti *BL*; dulcis vini . . . mulsi *O*; hec sapa, -pe, dulce vinum coctum in vindemia, de sapio, et producit ad dandum imparationi *B right margin*.

495. *insultant*, *GUERREYNT*, satrape *B*; isti satrape rapiendo . . . *L*.—*spoliis*, capita ecclesie *B*. *resultant*, superbiunt in hoc *C*.

496. *mulctant*, puniunt *BCL*; hec multa, -te dicitur massa denariorum, unde multare gallice, *CAILER B left margin*; multa, -te, est proprie pena pecunialis, scilicet quando episcopus castigat sacerdotes pro incontinentia *B right margin*.—*predis*, scilicet ecclesie *B*.—*tecta*, domos *B*; sua *C*.—*facultant*, *EYSENT B*;

498. *Cura scripta B.*

499. *Hic fons est C*; fidei *L*.

500. *officia corrected officiosa O.*

dicant *CLO*; . . . vice tuta facultas pauperis hoc peculium . . . *B right margin*.

497. *triumphalis*, victorialis non quia sit set quia deberet esse *C*.

498. *Cur*, talis *L*.—*ascripta*, appropriata *BL*.—*mansio talis*, qualis est Roma *B*.

499. *Hic*, Rome, id est romana curia *B*; et male est sic ascripta *L*.—*fons fidei*, romana curia, id est Christus vel papa *B*.—*nostre causa diei*, nostre glorie vel lucide fidei *B*; id est dicens papam loco Christi est ibi *L*.

500. *Mensa*, doctrina bona, id est plena *B*; mensa, propitiatio scilicet pro mensa et xiii [sic] panibus, id est xii apostolis *B*.—*domus origo B*.—*officiosa*, plena *BLO*.—*Zachei*, illius parvi qui ascendit arborem sicomori ut dominum viderit. Illius regis qui voluit videre dominum et recepit eum in hospitium suum [*Vulg. Luc. 19, 5*] *B right margin*, similar in *C*.

Iustius armeris ut Ierusalem domineris;
 Hic rex Cesar eris et post super astra veheris.*
 Sancte palma crucis dat* vere gaudia lucis,
 Summi signa ducis si tu tibi* previa ducis.

CAPITULUM XXV

HIC INSTRUUNTUR QUI NON HABENT RECTAM FORMAM POSCENDI*

505 Dum* Moyses* orat* manus hic* erecta* perorat,*
 Aut Iosue plorat quod frustra Marte* laborat,
 Hic suit* in pannis, facit hic loralia* mannis,
 Hic canit in cannis, hic texit vimina* vannis.
 Summum posce* bonum, non gazas* centurionum,
 510 Quere dei donum,* diadematis* accipe conum.

502. veeris *O*.503. det *L*.504. situ tibi *L*.

Chapter heading XXV. . . . bono modo et malo modo orandi. Hic instruuntur qui non . . . rectum modum . . . scendi *C*, De modo malo et bono orandi *L*, omitted in *O*.

505. [D]um *LO*; Moyses *C*; herat *L*; hic omitted, but huc added by glossator in *C*, hinc or huic in *L*, hinc *O*; iecta or tecta *L*; per horat *L*.

501. *Iustius*, quam contra ecclesiam; quam contra papam *B*.—*armeris*, o imperator *L*; o Roma *O*; proprium nomen *C*.—*domineris*, si iuste armeris *B*; dominum habeas *L*.

502. *Hic rex*, in hoc loco, in Ierusalem, o tu imperator *C*.—*veheris*, portaberis *BCO*; si iuste armeris *L*.

503. Gregorius dicit: multum valet deprecatio iusti assidua [*cp. Greg. Tur. Iul. 21*] *B left margin*.—*palma*, victoria *BCL*.—*dat*, si tu accipis crucem *B*.—*gaudia lucis*, eterne glorie *BCL*.

504. *signa*, vexilla sancte crucis, o Cesar *C*.—*previa*, ante dantia *L*.—*ducis*, sancte crucis *C*; Christi *O*.

505. Multum enim valet oratio iusti assidua *B left margin*.—*Moyses*, sacerdos bonus *C*.—*hic*, Mosi *O*.—*erecta*, super lapidem *B*.—*perorat*, impetrat *BC*.

506. in arte *O*.

507. sunt corrected suit *B*, fieri struck out in *C*, fert corrected suit *L*; lortalia corrected loralia *B*, loallia *L*.

508. vimima *C*, numina *L*, vimiam *O*.509. posse *L*; zasas *L*.

510. Querendi donum *C*, Set quere donum dei *L*; dematis *L*.

506. *Iosue*, ille dux *B*; aliquis punga[n]s *L*.—*plorat*, pugnabat dum Moyses erat in monte *B*.—*quod*, pro qua *O*.—*Marte*, bello *BCLO*.—*laborat*, Iosue *O*.

507. *Hic*, aliquis orator *BC*.—*hic*, alius *BL*; aliquis cogitat de loralibus *O*.—*mannis*, equis *BC*; palefridis *L*.

508. *Hic*, aliquis *BC*; ioculator *L*.—*cannis*, fistulis *BCL*; tibiis *O*; hec canna, -ne, ROSEL *B*.—*texit*, coniungit *BO*; alius *L*.—*vimina*, de rebus solitis *B*; OSERS *C*; OSZERZ *L*.—*vannis*, hec vannus *O*; unde Lucanus [*sic*]: et mistica vannus Hiachi [*Verg. georg. 1, 166*] *B right margin*.

509. Hic determinatur quid est petendum *B left margin*.—*bonum*, scilicet Christi *L*.—*centurionum*, ille est centurio qui habet centum milites sub se *B*.

510. *dei donum*, regnum celeste *O*.—*diadematis*, corone *B*; eterne glorie *C*.—*conum*, summitatem *BCLO*; hic et hec [*conum*] *L*.

CAPITULUM XXVI

DE IMPIETATE* DIVITUM TEMPORE CARISTIE*

Est* tempus carum, tempus grave, tempus avarum.

Dives mensarum probrum dispergit amarum.

Est qui non querit licet illi copia* deerit,

Tedia multa gerit donec sibi parcere fuerit.*

515 Paupertas vellit* multos et* ab ede repellit,

Et male percellit et eos ab honore* revellit.*

Chapter heading XXVI. impietate *B*; . . . reprehenduntur [di]vites de impi[et]ate in tempore [car]istie in quo pa . . . datur *C*, omitted in *O*.

511. [E]st *LO*.

Chapter heading XXVI. caristie, CHEFETET *L*.

Chapter XXVI. In hac satira reprehenduntur avari quoniam quando tempus carius et quando pauperibus crudeliores efficiuntur; dicit ergo: "est tempus carum, tempus," et adhuc reprehendit divites qui etiam vicinis suis pauperibus et verecundis nolunt aliquid dare unde dicit quod multa mala eveniunt pauperibus propter hoc scilicet quod fiunt exules et dimittunt patriam et moriuntur sine honore *B left margin*.

511. *Est tempus*, supponatis *B*.—*tempus grave*, gravedinis et avaritie *B*.—*tempus avarum*, quasi diceret, tunc parvum datur *B*.

513. coipia *C*.

514. fuerit *L*.

515. velit *L*; et omitted in *L*.

516. onore *O*; this line is inserted in the margin of *L*.

512. *Dives*, aliquis *L*.—*mensarum*, ciborum *BCL*; *dadium* *O*.—*probrum dispergit amarum*, turpiloquium, amaritudinem probrum *B*; in pauperes *BCLO*.

513. *Est qui*, aliquis *BCLO*.—*querit*, mendicat *BC*.—*licet*, quamvis *BL*.

514. *gerit*, sustinet *B*; patitur *L*; propterea defectum *O*.—*parcere fuerit*, assuetus fuerit, id est sueverit *B*.—ut habet post que prius gerit, scilicet latebras *B right margin*.

515. *vellit*, extrahit a loco suo *B*.—*multos*, homines *L*; a ereditate sua *O*.—*ede*, sua *B*; domo *L*.

516. *percellit*, paupertas; percutit *B*.—*ab honore*, tenementi et domorum *O*.—*revellit*, eradicat *B*.

CAPITULUM XXVII

DE IURIS REMISSIONE IN REGIBUS*

Virtus* regna bonis* premunivit Pharaonis,*
 Gratia set donis est* nostris nulla* coronis.
 Nunc mercatores regnant, venduntur honores;
 520 Qui sunt peiores hodie sunt hii potiores.
 Copia donatur, ab avaris illa negatur,*
 Hiisque corona datur, et* servis rex famulatur.
 Contrahit* in morem nostrum licitare cruorem,
 Mutat* pretorem pretio cui vendit honorem.

Chapter heading XXVII. *Omitted in O.*

517. [V]irtus *O*; ronis *O*; Ppharaonis *B*.

518. set *L*; milla *O*.

521. regatur, vel negatur *L*.

522. set *L*.

523. contrait *L*.

524. Mutans *O*.

Chapter XXVII. In hac satira reprehenduntur reges de remissione iuris quoniam ipsi debent esse meliores quam antiqui quoniam Christiani sunt et electi a domino, ipsi vero sunt peiores; et ostendit hoc auctor per Pharaonem, regem Egipti, qui premunivit regnum tempore fertilitatis ut posset sustinere regnum suum tempore caristie. Dicit ergo: "virtus" etc. scilicet ipsius Pharaonis regis Egipti, premunivit, id est antemunivit, regna, scilicet sua, set gratia ulla, id est alia, non est nostris coronis, id est nostris regibus, et ponit partem procontento. Set reges sunt hodie mercatores et vendunt honorem pro mercimoniis qui sunt peiores, deteriores sicut usurarii et avari. Hii, id est tales, sunt hodie, in presenti tempore, potiores, id est meliores, et digniores ab ipsis regibus esse iudicantur. Copia datur, hic etiam deus providerit suis et dedit copiam bonorum suorum in terra. Avari suffocant, id est subigunt, illam. . . . Rex laudat eos et ipse, serviendo eis propter pecuniam, servus et vilis efficitur. Contrahit in morem, id est in ritum, et consumere, scilicet vendere, sanguinem hominum quos a predatoribus ipse debet tueri; et sic miseri cupientes vitare Circes [*? sic*] incidunt in Caribdim

quia ab utraque parte coroduntur et deglutiuntur *B left margin*.

517. *Virtus*, probitas, prudentia *B*.—*premunivit*, medianti Joseph *BCL*.—*Pharaonis*, regis Egipti *B*.

518. *Gratia*, scilicet succurrenda ad dona *B*.—*donis*, regibus *L*; donatis *O*.—*coronis*, id est in regibus nostris coronatis *B*.

519. *mercatores*, reges sunt mercatores *B*.—*honores*, regie *B*; prepositure *O*.

520. *peiores*, usura[r]ii et avari *O*.—*hii potiores*, meliores quia illis traditur regnum *L*.

521. *Copia donatur*, quamvis *L*; scilicet a deo *BL*.—*avaris*, possessoribus *B*.—*illa*, copia *BCLO*.

522. *Hiis*, avaris *BCL*.—*corona*, dominium in curia regis *B*.—*servis*, suis *C*; talibus *L*.—*famulatur*, propter denarios, subicitur *C*.

523. *Contrahit*, scilicet rex *BC*.—*morem*, consuetudinem *BCO*.—*licitare*, BARGAINYER, vendere *B*; taxare *O*.—*cruorem*, sanguinem cleri *L*.

524. *Mutat*, rex *CO*.—*pretorem*, prepositum *B*; tortorem *CL*.—*pretio*, per pretium *B*.—*cui*, preposito *B*; pretori *C*.

CAPITULUM XXVIII

DE PROPRIETATIBUS FORTUNE*

- 525 Quod* male fortune te ducis* in orbe tribune
 Non fers impune,* depulsus ad ima* lacune;
 Qui sublimaris humiles, humilis patiaris
 Casum, sectaris duce quo sic edocearis.
 Quem sic sublimo cadit et suspirat in imo;*
 530 Si volo, de limo tollo quem diruo* primo.*

Chapter heading XXVIII. *Omitted in O which does not begin a new chapter.*

525. [Q]uod *L*; du dicis *C*.

526. impune *BC*; yma *O*.

Chapter XXVIII. *Quod male etc.*, Hic loquitur auctor de proprietatibus fortune introducendo eam loqui per prosopopeiam et docet quod non est confidendum in ea quia fallax est et instabilis, unde versus: Si Fortuna volet, fiet de consule rethor; si volet hec eadem, fiet de rethore consul [Juv. 7, 197-8]. Dicit ergo "o tribune," id est, o tu qui habes tribunatum potestatem, scilicet tribunum, cave tibi, quia "non fers impune," id est sine pena quo luce male nimium exaltando te in orbe, id est in loco fortune. "Qui sublimaris," id est tu qui es in alto, sis humilis ne cadas, vel ne faciaris lapsus et sis exemplum aliis, iuxta illud: qui exaltat etc [Vulg. Matth. 23, 12], et describitur fortuna tali *B foot of fol. 9v*.—Male dividunt qui sua bona dant deo si ipsos diabolo, quod minus offerunt deo. Quod maius est innuant diabolo, id est, maior est iniquitas eorum qui verbum dei auditum contempnunt quam eorum qui Ihesum crucifixerunt *O right margin*.

525. *orbe*, in rota fortune *B*.—*tribune*, o constabularie, id est quicumque dives *B*.

529. ymo *L*.

530. diruo *BCL*; in *L* the scribe combined the first half of line 529 with the second half of line 530, but the error is corrected in the margin.

526. *impune*, sine pena *CL*.—*depulsus*, tu dico, deorsum pulsus *B*.—*ad ima lacune* FOUEE *B*; profunditates, fosse paupertatis *C*; Ovidius: Sint parvi rietus parveque utrimque lacune [Ov. ars 3, 283] *B*.

527. *Qui*, tu, o dives *L*.—*sublimaris*, ad aliquam dignitatem *O*; per divitias *L*.—*humiles*, homines *C*.—*humilis*, tu existens in humilitate *C*.—Juvenalis:

Si fortuna volet, fiet de rethore consul;
 Si volet hec eadem, fiet de consule
 rethor [Juv. 7, 197-8] *B left margin*.

528. *Casum*, lapsus rote, fortunam *B*.—*quo*, quo casu extendente duce *O*.—*edocearis*, sis edoctus *L*.

529. Hic introducitur fortuna loqui et debent isti duo versus esse invoca circa fortunam *B*; verba fortune sunt *C*.—*Quem*, illum *C*.—*sublimo*, ego fortuna ipse *C*.

530. *limo*, de lacu *B*; luto *C*.—*tollo*, fecis et miserie *B*.—*diruo*, deorsum ruo *B*; in paupertate *L*.

CAPITULUM XXIX

PERSUASIO* AD PERSEVERANTIAM* BONI USQUE AD MORTEM*

Moralis* Senece doctrina* sapit sine fece,
 Quam* non fenisece* capiunt, nuge neque Grece.
 Hunc Nero* destruxit* qui vatum* gemma reluxit.
 A quo mors fluxit, livor dispendia duxit.
 535 Cur modo mutescunt* vates pellique timescunt?*

Hinc pluvie crescunt nec* tempora* certa diescunt.

Chapter heading XXIX. Persuaseo *B*; persèverentiam *B*; omitted in *O*.

531. [M]oralis *LO*; docta corrected doctrina *C*.

532. Quando *O*; fenisece *L*.

Chapter XXIX. *Moralis etc.*, In hac satira persuadet nos auctor ad perseverentiam in fide catholica usque ad mortem quia nullus coronabitur nisi legitime certaverit, et admonet per quemdam optimum poetam scilicet Senecam, qui tempore Neronis viriliter pro Christo militavit et mortem passus est, nam ipse Neronis erat magister et, ut dicitur, a beato Paulo conversus fuit ad fidem catholicam et instructus firmiter in eadem. Reprehendit etiam aliquos qui non bene servant fidem catholicam, set resiliunt ab ea et hoc est quod dicit "moralis Senece" etc. *B* foot of folio 9v., line 4.

531. *Moralis*, morigerati *B*.—*Senece*, magistri Neronis *B*.—*fece*, feculentia *B*; malo *CL*.

532. *fenisece*, hic et hec fenisece, a fenum et seco, -cas *B* left margin; rustice rudes fenum secantes *C*; Persius: Fenicee grossi vitiarunt unguine pultes [Pers. 6, 40] *B* left margin.—*nuge*, fabule *B*.—*grece*, Grecorum,

533. non corrected Nero *B*, omitted, but inserted in margin of *L*; destruxit corrected destruxit *C*; vatum qui *O*.

535. tumescunt, vel mutescunt in margin of *L*; mecescunt corrected timescunt *O*.

536. set *C*; tempore *C*.

id est ab Grecia veniente *B*; capiunt *L*; latini *O*.

533. *Hunc*, Senecam *BCL*.—*vatum*, philosophorum moralium *B*.

534. *quo*, livore *BCL*.—*fluxit*, in Senecam *BCL*.—*dispendia*, pericula *B*.

535. Ex quo ille nephitus ita fecit sub exclamatione; dicit auctor cur si nostri vates qui firmi sunt in fide pro Christo timent mori, quapropter pluvie, id est tempestates et turbulationes, crescunt et ipsa pervertuntur *B* left margin.—*vates*, philosophi *B*; sapientes *CL*; predicatorum *O*.—*pell*, vite sue *B*.—*timescunt*, egestate *B*.

536. *Hinc*, ex silentio sapientum *C*.—*pluvie*, hereses vel errores *C*; tempestates et tribulationes in hoc mundo *O*.—*tempora certa*, in certo tempore *B*.—*certa*, scilicet in sua qualitate *B*; secundum suas qualitates *L*.—*diescunt*, enorment, incipiunt clarere, id est clarescunt *B*; non procedunt immaculationem *O*.

Plures formosi, plures sunt religiosi,*
 Pravos exosi, solique deo studiosi;
 Ergo mundari mundum* decet hincque* beari.
 540 Set, socii cari, video mala multiplicari.
 Insidians* credo facit hoc anime* modo predo,
 Et, duce cum fedo, mala gens heresisque* capedo.
 Sunt male viventes iuvenes* matrem* sapientes;
 Artes* florentes odere virosque* docentes.

537. relligiosi *B*.

539. nudum *C*, mundam mundus *corrected* mundari
L; hinc et *L*.

541. inscidians *L*; aut *or* autem *C*.

542. eiesisque *L*.

543. viventes *O*; matres *corrected* matrem *B*.

544. Nites *C*; vitosque *L*.

537. *Plures etc.*, Hic facit auctor tale argumentum: plures sunt modo religiosi sicut Minores, Jacobite, Beginii et infinite alie religiones. Ergo propter eos bonos debet Deus beare mundum et parcere mundanis, licet sint ibi etiam mali, quare ipse pepercit inimicis, in quibus pauci erant boni, et beavit. Ergo multo fortiori ratione debet parcere christianis cum multi sint boni. Set non facit. Ergo a destructione consequentis pauci sunt boni, et sic ab utraque parte videtur sequi in[e]onveniens. Insidians etc. Ponit auctor hic solutionem argumenti bonam et optimam; dicit enim quod facit diabolus predas anime quoniam ubique plures sunt boni et religiosi viri, ibidem plus conversat diabolus, cupiens eos a via veritatis avertere, set cum modo per gratiam dei plures sunt sancti viri quam fuerunt a tempore Ade usque nunc, ideo potius insidiatur nobis inimicus noster, diabolus, querens quem devoret, cui resistamus fortes in fide. Et etiam propter malos, et hic est alia solutio quam mali christiani qui multa mala operantur, set pius Deus et misericors volens peccatores salvos facere, iuxta illud: non veni salvos facere iustos, set peccatores [*Vulg. Matth. 9, 13*] etc. mittit eis tribulationes et pestilentias, iuxta illud: castigat

Deus omnem filium quem recipit [*Vulg. Hebr. 12, 6*] etc. *B* right margin at top of fol. 10r. —*Plures*, homines *B*.—*formosi*, scilicet specie interiori *B*.—*religiosi*, et debet scribi metrica per duplex .l. et prosaice per simplex .l. *L* right margin.

538. *Pravos exosi*, habentes pravos odio *L*.—*deo studiosi*, scilicet in sua contemplatione *B*.

539. *Ergo*, propter bonos homines *B*.—*mundari*, meliorari et purificari *B*.—*hincque beari*, a bonitate reli[gio]sorum *B*; postea habere donum dei *C*.

540. *Set*, doleo *B*.—*socii*, o! *B*; mei *C*.—*video*, hodie in hoc seculo *L*.

541. *Insidians*, anime *B*.—*facit*, scilicet ex invidia *B*.—*predo*, diabolus *BCL*.

542. *duce*, diabolo *BCL*.—*gens*, facit hoc *B*.—*heresis*, genitive *B*.—*capedo*, capacitas heresis *CL*.

543. *matrem*, stultitiam matrum et adulationem, mollitiem matrum *B*; maternam doctrinam *C*; mulierbrem doctrinam *L*.

544. *odere*, odi, odisti, odit *B*; oderunt *C*.—*docentes*, corrigentes illos *B*.

- 545 Sintesis* et lexis* fugiunt a* sepe repexis.
 Floribus annexis resis non* germinat ex hiis.
 Spernunt baptismum, fidei calcant* aporisma.
 Sanctum carisma* presumit vendere cisma.*

CAPITULUM XXX

HIC DICIT QUALES DEBENT ESSE CLERICI IN CURIA*

- Templi* sculpturas morum dic esse figuras,
 550 Vivas picturas in te gere* non perituras.*
 Aule rursus habe quasdam violas sine* labe,

545. *Sinthesis* CO, *Sintasis* L; *lexit* corrected *lexis* C; .a. O.

546. non inserted in L.

547. *spernunt* corrected *calcant* O.

548. *karisma* C; *scisma* L.

Chapter heading XXX. *Hic traditur doctrina clericis qui volunt esse curiales et quales debent esse*

in curia C, *Quales esse debent clerici in curia* L, omitted in O.

549. [T]empli LO.

550. *integere* B; corrected in *te gere* in margin of L; *perituras* C. Lines 549-50 are also in John of Garland's *De mysteriis ecclesie*, lines 60-61.

545. *Sinthesis*, grammatica BC.—*lexis*, logica BC; ratio L.—*repexis*, a iuvenibus laevis et superbis et bene pexis, sepe capud suum pectentibus C.

546. *Floribus annexis*, coloribus rethorice illi dico C.—*resis*, conatus loquendi B; rethorica C.—*germinat*, procedit BL.—*hiis*, talibus iuvenibus B.

547. *Spernunt*, tales iuvenes L; quia non timent baptismum B.—*baptisma*, sacramentum ecclesie BL.—*aporisma*, doctrinam, id est regulam fidei sancte, id est decalogum; ab aperio, -ris, regula est vel maxima in arte B; ab apperio, -is, hoc ma, -tis L.

548. *carisma*, sanctum donum spiritus sancti B.—*cisma*, unde cismatici discordantes, id est discordia in ecclesia B; cismaticus talis discors deo et ecclesie O.

Chapter XXX. *Templi* etc., In hac satira docet auctor quomodo se debent habere clerici

in monasterio et in foro et etiam in mensa et docet quedam vitia que vitanda et fugienda sunt presertim in privato. Ponit quamdam moralitatem, scilicet quid significent picture facte in ecclesiis; facte enim sunt ad instructionem nostram, iuxta illud: quecumque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt, et iterum: omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata. Dicit ergo "templum" etc. B right margin, opposite line 542.

549. *Templi*, ecclesie BO.—*sculpturas*, ENTAYLURES a sculpo sculpsi B; callegines L; picturas O.—*dic*, tu L.—*figuras*, ymages L, portrat[i]ones O.

550. *Vivas picturas*, virtutes que ornant animam B.—*in te gere*, in anima tua, o clerice L.—*perituras*, secundum illud: omnia pretereunt preter amare deum B.

551. *Aule*, aulia precep—[?] B.—*violas*, urbanitates B.—*labe*, rusticitate B.

Ut pereunte trabe tua* lumina sint* sine tabe.*
 Non sit* scortator vates, raptor, gladiator,
 Mendax mercator, ad talos preiaculator.*
 555 Stans in cancello sine lite canat,* sine bello.
 Mutos expello, vulgus laicale* revello.*
 Curia vult morem, talem tolerare* laborem,
 Carte scriptorem ditare, beare datorem.
 Non vult calcari semper sonipes stimulari,
 560 Motu talari raro cupias agitari.
 In montem frenum laxa, flumen grave plenum
 Effuge, seu Renum, casum metuens inamenum.

552. tu corrected tua L; sunt CL; sine omitted in C;
 this line is omitted in C, but added at the bottom of the
 page.

553. scit B, sic L.

552. *trabe*, cecitate, obsetattē[?], macula oculi, hec trabs vel hec trabes B; macula ex transverso oculi vel cecitate oculi recedente C; ceci, cacoethes interiores O.—*tua lumina*, oculi interiores, scilicet ratio et intellectus B.—*tabe*, vitio B; putredine C.

553. *Non sit scortator*, id est lettator, quia ut dicit Salomon: pretium scorti vix unius panis est [Vulg. prov. p. 26] et apostolus: fugito fornicationem. Raptor, id est predator, iuxta illud: non concupisces rem proximi tui. Gladiator, id est homicidia, iuxta illud: qui gladium accipit gladio peribit. Mendax, id est falsidicus, iuxta illud: os quod mentitur occidit animam. Mercator, clericus non debet esse mercator, iuxta illud: eice vendentes et ementes de templo, etc. Preiaculator, id est lusor, iuxta illud: alea, bachus, amor meretricium reddit egenum B foot of fol. 10r.—*scortator*, luxuriator, scortor, -aris, id est mechor, -aris; hoc scortum, meretrix, non hic neque hec B left margin; a scortor, -taris, scortum, meretrix, quia teruntur quasi scortes, id est crudes pelles ovis B right margin; PUTENERS C; PUTERS L.—*vates*, clericus BCL.—*gladiator*, homicida BCL.

554. *talos*, DEZ BL.—*preiaculator*, optimus assessor talorum AVANT LANSEUR B; doctissimus inter aliatores C.

555. *Stans etc.*, Hic docet auctor quomodo clerici se debent habere in ecclesia, quoniam

554. perlaculator L.

555. canas C.

556. laycale C; refello L.

557. tollerare LO.

honeste et pacifice et sine garulitate, iuxta illud: cum templa subis, recolas cur sis homo natus, vel lege, vel canta, vel Christo funde precatus. Mutas [sic] expello, id est laici debent expelli a choro, iuxta illud: a solio cleri iube laycos removeri, quia non est bonum ut layci commisceantur cum clericis B right margin.

557. *Curia etc.*, Hic docetur quomodo nos debemus esse in curia quoniam debemus esse officiosi et libenter cuilibet servire et si scriptor vel notarius aliquid pro nobis fecerit ei debemus largo munere compensare cum plana sunt B left margin.

558. *Carte*, mee L.—*ditare*, curia vult BC.—*beare datorem*, quia date et dabitur vobis C.

559. *calcari*, stimulo C.—*sonipes*, equus BC; equus tuus L; equus O.—*stimulari*, percurri O.

560. *talari*, tali BL; a talo C; scilicet sonipem O.—*agitari*, commovere equum B.

561. *In montem*, contra montem quando equitas O.—*plenum*, profundum B; aqua C; aque L.

562. *seu*, pro sicut L.—*Renum*, flumen Teutonicorum B; sicut tu efugas Renum illud . . . O.—*inamenum*, submersionem in laco amena [Ov. met. 10, 15] B.

- Sic* nisi* pons tutus descendas, tuta secutus,
 Planis adiutus,* ad equi te* dirige nutus.
 565 Levam streparum lenis* ascendas. Phalerarum*
 Elige pulcrarum, cultus tibi set propriarum.
 Sis eques erectus nisi sit tibi curva* senectus.
 Si vir es electus bene tectus sit tibi lectus.
 Crux exaltetur, patris prece vox duplicetur,*
 570 Christus adoretur, pes a strepa revocetur.
 Dexter cessabit, Christi pia corda vocabit,
 Quamvis mutabit eques absque malis equitabit.
 Qui vult servire debet velociter ire,
 Nec se sopire, nec cedere motibus ire.
 575 Vites prandentes vites, secreta gerentes,
 Vites amentes, probra, nugas, bella moventes.
 Preteriens cineres* bustorum, si sapis, heres,*
 Defunctis queres requiem si celica speres.
 Non tibi captetur meretrix, uxor set ametur;

563. Vel *corrected* sit, vel si *B*; tibi *C*.

564. adiutis *L*; equite *O*.

565. levis *BLO*; falerarum *B*, famularum *O*.

567. cura *L*.

563. *descendas*, tu, de equo, in itinero
L.—*secutus*, esto *B*; tu dico *L*.

564. *Planis*, hic planus, -ni, id est locis
BL; per loca plana *O*.—*equi*, tui *CL*.—*dirige*,
 favores, promove viam *B*.—*nutus*, ad voluntatem
B; ad voluntates *L*.

565. *Levam streparum*, sinistram partem
BC; strepa, scansile, strigilis, idem signant
B left margin.—*lenis*, leniter *CL*.—*phalerarum*,
 ornamentorum equi *BL*; Claudjanus:
 Auctores mendico stilum falerasque poete
 [cp. Claud. Mam. *epist.* p. 205, 8ff.] *B right margin*.

566. *cultus*, ornamenta *C*.—*propriarum*,
 cultus habeas clericales *C*.

567. *Sis eques*, tu equitans *L*; miles *C*.

568. *electus*, magnus *C*.—*tectus*, tapeto *L*.

571. *Dexter*, pes *L*.—*cessabit*, a labore
L.—*pia corda*, esse petentibus *L*.

573. *servire*, apud curiam *B*.

569. *quadruplicetur L*, vel *quadruplicetur as a*
gloss in C; lines 569-72, inclusive, are omitted in *BO*
 and inserted in the margin of *L*.

577. *sineres O*; lines 577-78 are omitted in *CL* and
 inserted in the margin of *B*.

574. *sopire*, Ovidius: vigilem sopire draconem
 [Ov. *met.* 7, 149] *B left margin*.—*nec cedere motibus ire*,
 id est, si dominus alicuius servi dicat aliquid quod ipsum
 ad iram deb[e]at commovere, oportet ut cedat, id est locum
 domino suo excibet *O*; non debet irasci leviter contra
 dominum suum *C*.

575. *Vites*, vitare velis, o clerice *L*.—*secreta*, malos
 talitos *C*; consilia *L*; ut si homo stupraverat mulierem
O.

576. *Vites*, LE DEVES *B left margin*.—*amentes*, qui
 percutunt libenter *B*.—*nugas*, inutiles ludos *CL*.—*bella*,
 vices, homines *B*; percussiones *L*.—*moventes*, amentes
 dico *C*.

577. *cineres*, corpora incinerata *B*.—*bustorum*,
 tumbarum, cimeteriorum *B*; sepulchrorum *O*.—*heres*,
 stes *B*; commoraris *O*.

578. *quires*, petes a deo *B*.—*si celica speres*, si tu es
 Christianus et speres dei unione *O*.

579. *uxor set ametur*, quasi mera, id est clara,
 intrita vestis *B right margin*.

- 580 Omnis* honoretur set plus que pluris habetur.
 Si sanus cubitas in cena non rude vitas.
 Carpe vias tritas, fraudes fuge voce politas.
 Ne sis despectus sit tempore sermo* reiectus.*
 Stes, sedeas rectus, cesses tibi scalpere pectus.

580. Eis O.

580. *Omnis*, uxor BCL. Est pretium merces et laus, lucrumque valorque B right margin.—*pluris*, maioris probitatis et valoris B.

581. Si sanus, SI VUS ACUTEZ B left margin.—*cubitas*, cubito te suppodias B; apodias super accubitus L.—*rude*, ruditatem, quasi dicitur rudis es hoc modo B.

582. *Carpe*, post cenam B.—*vias*, per patriam CL.—*tritas*, usitatas B; desicatas

583. sermo tempore corrected tempore sermo B; tectus corrected reiectus B.

O.—*fraudes*, verborum CL.—*voce*, adulatione BO; fuge sermones blandes O.

583. Ne, pro non O.—*despectus*, habearis pro stulto B; in sermone tuo CL.—*sermo reiectus*, ostensus sive demonstratus B; apertus vel ostensus, clemente quando alii cessant loqui C.

584. *Stes*, stare nolit sedere velit O.—*scalpere*, GRATER B; commendando inter socios L.

CAPITULUM XXXI

NON SUMANTUR* SEPE* SPECIES AROMATICE QUIA FACIUNT ORA* FETIDA*

585 De* medici rebus loquerer* vel de speciebus;
 Set probat has Phebus multis nocuisse diebus.
 Totus sanetur ut homo, pars hec adhibetur,*
 Ut mens purgetur et corpus consolidetur.

Chapter heading XXXI. Consumantur *B*; cope *O*; sumpta after ora deleted *O*; su[m]pte sepe *C*, sepe su[m]pte are added in *O*. Marginal gloss in *B*, virtutes salvant animam, medicine corpus.

Chapter XXXI. *De medici*, Quoniam curiale est scire dare species egris et sanis secundum exigentiam temporis et hominum qualitates, et maxime pertinet ad clericos, illud enim tradit auctor in hoc libro nondum phisicalia, scilicet quomodo debemus uti speciebus, quia per mensuram et non multum, quia dicit platearius ex commasticione specierum, licet hos ad tempus aromaticum videatur, in posterum tamen corrumpitur. Et ut perfectior sit doctrina instruit enim nos in hoc libro de moribus et virtutibus que pertinent ad animam; in hoc capitulo instruit de hiis que faciunt ad corporis firmitatem et sanitatem et hoc tangit ipse ubi dicit: totum sanetur etc. Dicit igitur: de medici etc., ergo dicerem aliquid de phisica et speciebus, set Phebus qui fuit phisieus optimus dicit: phisicam nocuisse, tamen ego dicam aliquid, tantum scilicet quantum pertinet ad curialitatem, unde notandum quod corpus humanum triplici subiacet incommoda, scilicet, alterationi, et corruptioni, et ideo assidua indiget restauratione et nutrimento perhenni, ratio quod omnis medicina inventa fuit; unde versus: "purgat, constringit, restaurat opus medicine quoniam medicum triplici pixide ferre decet, amen [*Regimen Salernitati*(?)]. Medicina sic describitur: medicina est scientia sanitatis, egritudinis et neutralitatis, que dividitur in theoricam et practicam. Theorie est speculatio rerum naturalium et non naturalium et earum que sunt contra naturam; practica est subjecta theorie dominatio, in propatulo sensuum et operatione manuum constituta.

585. [D]e *LO*; loquetur corrected loquerer *O*.

587. adibetur *O*.

Hiis habitis littere insistamus *B foot of fol. 10r, line 4*.—Hic reprehendit eos qui nolunt addiscere medicinam propter sanitatem. Medicina est sanitatis et egritudinis et neutralitatis scientia *B left margin*; Virtutes salvant animam, medicine corpus *B right margin*.

Ypocrates medicus trium annorum natus est in derelictioni patere et perditioni parentele totius.

Si fluxit a capide, dicitur reuma catarus,

Si fluit ad fauces, brancus, naresque coriza [*Regimen Salernitati* (?)] *B*

left margin, opposite line 595.—Omne grecum neutrum in -on; contra in -um apud latinum, vide Pelion, Pelium et sic de aliis *B foot of fol. 10v*.

585. *rebus*, negotiis *B*; officiis *CL*.—vel, pro etiam *L*.—*speciebus*, aromaticis *B*.

586. *has*, species *BCLO*.—*Phebus*, perfectus medicus et sapiens *B*.—*nocuisse*, nocumentum intulisse quia inducunt fetorem si sumantur calide; putredinem generasse sepius sumpte *B right margin*; generasse putredinem oris *L*.—*diebus*, si multis diebus sumantur *O*; sepe futertas *L left margin*.

587. *Totus*, totaliter *C*; homo *L*.—*pars hec adhibetur*, scilicet medicinalis, moralitati, scilicet operi satirice *B*.

588. *mens*, anima *BCL*.—*purgetur*, scilicet per moralitatem *B*.—*corpus consolidetur*, a fluxu suo et infirmitate, per medicinam, valens ad confortationem *B*; roboretur, permedetur per medicinam *O*.

- Macis* sumatur, gariophilus* accipiatur,
 590 Muscus promatur, maratrum* vulgo* comedatur*;
 Dissolvunt* bella ventris, cessante procella,
 Triplice cum cella confortant hec cerebella.
 Coctis cauma piris effectibus exime* miris.
 Debilibusque* viris et tristibus est bona pliris.

589. Masis *L*; gariopholus *B*.

590. maracum *L*, maraterum *O*; vulgo omitted in *L*; comedatur *C*.

591. Dissolvunt *L*.

593. exuere corrected exime with effectibus inserted as an interlinear gloss in *B*.

594. Depillibusque corrected debilibusque *O*.

589. *Macis*, flos nucis, muscate, id est mugette *B*; istud cortex nucis muscate *B left margin*, opposite line 586; villositas nucis muscate *B left margin*; flos nucis muscate *L*.—*sumatur*, ad confortationem *L*.—*gariophilus*, Dicitur a caris, quod est gratia, et philos, amor, que reddit homines amabiles et urbanos, vel quia amantes defluit [sic] talem speciem, que generosus amor; *gariophilus*, GIROFIE, id est fructus arboris *B left margin*; CLAUVS, GILOFRI, a garis, gratia, et filos, amor, quasi gratosus amor *C*; GILOUETZ *L*; CLOVE DE GLOFERE *O*.

590. *muscus*, invenitur in lumbis animalis quod vescitur spicanardi, illi herba; muscus species est aromatica que invenitur in renibus cujusdam animalis *B left margin*; est gibbus in lumbo aliter valens ad confortationem *C right margin*; illa species inventa, in lumbis animalis *L*.—*maratrum*, semen feniculi *BCO*; feniculi est species aptata ad pl . . . egri- tudines, scilicet in flux ventris parum utatur *O right margin*.—*vulgo*, a vulgo *L*; quia valet contra indigestionem *B*.

591. *Dissolvunt*, Hic dicit effectum predietarum specierum *B top of fol. 10v*; gario- philus, muscus, maratrum *O*.—*bella ventris*, gurgulationes et ventositates *B ibid*.—*cessante procella*, ventositatem *CL*; tempestate sedata, sicut enim in macrocosmo sunt tempestates et . . . , simili modo in microcosmo, unde dis- quisite dicit: cessante procella confortavit; hoc cerebellum, -li, diminutellum est de cere- brum, -bri *B top of fol. 10v*.

592. *Triplice cum cella*, est enim triplex scella in capite quarum proprietates possunt

requiri sub hoc versu: prima capit, media iudicat, prima capit [*cp. Aug. gen. ad litt. 7, 18, 24*] *B top of fol. 10v, line 2*; fantasia, rationali, mentali *B left margin*; cum cella rationali, mentali, et intellectuali *O*.—*cella*, mansione spiritum *C*.—*hec*, predicta *BO*.—*cerebella*, cerebra, id est subtiles partes capitis *B*; subtile cerebrum *C*; debile cerebrum *O*.

593. *Coctis*, notandum quod quedam medicine sunt simplices, quedam composite, quoniam unius morbi una est medicina quedam et multorum multe sunt medicine et proprie si aliquis infirmatur infirmitate duplici, si detur ei medicina competens unico morbo, erit con- traria alii; oportet igitur quod scienter pro- portionantur et componantur, dicit ergo caume, id est auferre *B top of fol. 10v, line 10*; Antidodum cocta pira sunt set cruda, venenum; ante cibum stringunt eadem, post prandia laxant *B left margin*.—*effectibus miris*, id est, mirabilibus confectionibus, cauma, id est calorem innaturalem.—*coctis piris*, id est decoctis, quia optima. Versus: si quoquis antidodum pira sunt, set cruda, venenum; Ante cibum stringunt eadem, post prandia laxant *B top of fol. 10v, line 18*.

594. *Debilibus*, scilicet qui patiuntur eticam *B*; patientibus ethicam *L*.—*tristibus*, melancolicis *BCLO*.—*pliris*, id est illud elec- tuarium et alio modo dicitur andricon, id est princeps, quia precipuum est illud electuarius et nobilissimum *B left margin, opposite line 575*; Et interpretatur areonticon, id est prin- cipale, et valet ad frigidum tollendum *B right margin*.

- 595 Per diapenidia* tenuis salvatur usia.*
 Reumaticis* ygia,* fluidis* valet athanasia.*
 Da diaciminum* ventosis dulceque vinum.
 Petras* iustinum dissolvit emachque* caprinum.
 Febris ut immunis* sis, efficiet* diaprunis,*
 600 Et data* ieiunis* facit hoc decoctio prunis.
 Vita sit ut* leta, servetur sana dieta;
 Sic eris* athleta* medici cum sit tibi meta.

595. dyapenidia *B*; ysyā *B*, usya *L*.

596. Reumatis *L*; igia *C*; fluOis *corrected* fluiOis *B*; athasia *corrected* athanasia *C*.

597. dyaciminum *B*, diacininum *corrected* diaciminum *O*.

598. Petrus *corrected* Petras *B*; emahque *O*.

599. minimus *corrected* immunis *B*, in muniis *O*; efficiet *L*; diaprunus *B*, dia prunis *O*.

600. Si vis *corrected* et data *B*, si vis *CL*, vel, et data *L*; ieiunus, *corrected* ieiunis *B*.

601. ut *omitted in O*.

602. eris *inserted in C*; adleta *B*, alletha *O*.

595. *diapenidia*, est electuaria que fiunt ex penidiis, que sunt confectiones sive pilule restaurative; a dia, -de, et peni, confectio *B left margin*; per diapenidia, id est, per illa electuaria usis, id est substantia *B top of fol. 10v, line 3*.—*tenuis usia*, tenuis substantia *B*; patientibus fluxum ventris *O*.

596. *Reumaticis ygia*, id est illud electuarium quod interpretatur salvatrix eo quod salvat infirmum *B top of fol. 10v line 3*; patientibus fluxum sanguinem capitis *C*.—*ygia*, idem Christus, salvatrix *B*; illud electuarium, et interpretatur salvatrix *O*.—*fluidis*, patientibus fluxum ventris, sumptum cum succo plantaginis *B right margin*.—*athanasia*, atanasia dicitur ab athanotos, quasi immortale *B top of fol. 10 line 4*; interpretatum immortale, id est electuarium, eum succo plantaginis (WEYBRODE); athanasia dicitur ab a, quod est sine, et thanatos, mors, quasi sine morte *L*.

597. *diaciminum*, dicitur a dya, grece de, et ciminum, -ni *B top of fol. 10v, line 5*; illud electuarium *BL*.—*ventosis*, habentibus indigestionem *B*.—*vinum*, album et vetus *O*.

598. *Petras*, calculos in vesica *BC*.—*iustinum*, scilicet illud electuarium a Iustino imperatore sicut descriptum est *B top of fol.*

10v, line 6; a Iusto imperatore dictum istud electuarium *L left margin*.—*emachque caprinum*, grecum nomen est; sanguis caprinus cum salgea, et debet esse duorum annorum vel unius et dimidium *B*; sanguis caprinus cum salgia *CL*.—Nec minctum teneas nec ventrem stringere velis [*Regimen sanitatis Salernitatum*] *L right margin*.

599. *Febris*, scilicet tertiane et non cuiuslibet *B*; non cuiuslibet set tertiale *L*.—*diaprunis*, purgatrix, coleram *B*; scilicet electuarium quod fit de prunis Damacenis *B top of fol. 10v, line 7, and right margin*.

600. *ieiunis*, hominibus *C*.—*facit*, deprimit febres *B*.—*decoctio*, id est cum *B*; et viola et reubarbo et etiam cotidiane in salso fleumate *B right margin*; et molis et inbarbo *C*; deliberationem; id est viola et teubarro *L*; id est nigris et post decoctionem infrigidentur aque prune *O*.

601. *ut*, ut vivas diu *BCL*.—*sana dieta*, proveniens ex sanis cibariis; dieta est competens observantia egri *B*; dieta est competens observanda sani et similiter egri *O*.

602. *Sic eris athleta*, predictam bonam *B*; fortis *BC*.—*meta*, finis scilicet sanitas *B*; est enim sanitas de medici intentione *O*.

CAPITULUM XXXII

DE IMPIETATE* EORUM QUI VIVUNT IN* RAPINA

Fines* natales petii, nautas animales

Inveni, tales* Theseus catulos Stigiales.

605 Est mare feralē,* cor* gestat* nauta feralē,
Nimbosoque male feriuntur ab ethere male.

De me ceperunt omnes et nil tribuerunt,
Set* mea* carpserunt et vultus* retro tulerunt.

Chapter heading XXXII. impietate BC; de CLO.

603. [F]ines LO.

604. quales LO.

605. frale corrected feralē B, fetale L, ferare corrected ferrare O; ter C; gestit B.

608. Et O; me corrected mea B; vultu L.

Chapter XXXII. *Fines natales etc.*, In hac satira reprehenduntur rapiore et preditores iniqui et scelerati qui in mari et etiam in viis nemorum omnes interficiunt homines et faciunt multa mala, unde ponit actor quemdam exemplum, qui reneabat [sic] suas, qui, cum veniret ad mare, invenit illud crudele et mortiferum et nautas crudeliores et peiores mari; tales scilicet invenit nautas quales Tes[e]us invenit catulos stigiles. Tangenda est hec fabula: Pirotorus et Teseus fuerunt unum par amoris, set Pirotorus dilexit Proserpinam reginam inferni, unde decendit ad inferos et duxit secum Teseum. Qui invenientes ad inferni portam, Cerberus, ianitor inferni, insurrexit in eos et . . . eos, set Hercule adveniente, beati sunt. Integumentum tale est: Piriteus activam significat vitam, Teseus contemplativam, Cerberus terram; per tria capita ipsius designantur tres partes mundi, scilicet Affrica, Asia, Europa. Proserpina significat pecuniam, Hercules iustum hominem vel predicatorem; scitur Piriteus, id est activi terrena amantes, dilexit Proserpinam, reginam inferni, id est pecuniam que ducit justos ad infernum et dampnat, set Piriteus duxit secum Teseum, id est contemplativos iustos scilicet dampnantur propter illa mundana qui devorati sunt a Cerbero, id est a terra, quia terrena valde mulcent hominem et aliciunt qui iam liberati sunt per Herculem, id est per

predicatorem, qui ostendit eis terrena nichil valere, et hoc est quod ibi tangit. B left margin opposite line 615. Reprehendit parentes scolarium qui volunt accipere ab eis et nichil dare; summopere, id est seduliter B, right margin.

603. *Fines natales*, scilicet patrie mee B; nativitatis mee LO.—*nautas animales*, crudeles ut ferocia animalia B; bestiales et crudeles L.

604. *Inveni*, ego L.—*tales*, nautas B.—*Theseus*, quales invenit B.—*stigiales*, cerberi, id est inferni B; infernales cerberum C; cerberium emittentium tres latratus uno ictu L.

605. *ferale*, mortale ab effectu; feros grece, mors latine, et inde hic et hec feralis et hoc feralē, prima producta B left margin; crudele et bestiale O.—*ferale*, bestiale, a fera C; mortale O.

606. *Nimboso*, procelloso B; pleno C.—*feriuntur*, fauces hominum percutiuntur L.—*ab ethere*, portantur B.—*male*, fauces hominum C; maxille O.

607. *De me*, quando intravi patria O.—*ceperunt omnes*, diminuerunt mea B; amici mei C; naute O.—*tribuerunt*, vicini mei B.

608. *mea*, meas res C; bona L.—*carpserunt*, paulatim diminuerunt B.—*vultus retro*, dicendo multas grat[i]as O.

Ad magnum munus prefulsit* amicus* unus
 610 Conderet* ut funus, homo verax non homo Punus.
 Ne* sis ergo mari similis, merearis amari;*
 Magnus placari possis, dives superari.

CAPITULUM XXXIII

QUALES DEBEMUS ESSE IN ADVERSITATIBUS* SECUNDUM DIFFINITIONEM
CURIALITATIS*

In gestis* habitus venerabilis, ore peritus
 Sit tibi,* disce situs patrie* quibus esto potitus.*

609. perfulcit *L*; avunculus *C*.

610. Conderat *corrected* Conderet *B*.

611. Non *O*; hamari *O*.

609. *Ad magnum munus* etc., Quidam sapiens volens experire fidem amicorum suorum finxit se quemdam hominem interfecisse et misit servum suum ad unum amicorum suorum, scilicet ad illum de quo plus confidebat, rogans ipsum ut statim ad ipsum veniret quia interfecerat quemdam hominem et volebat eum sepelire antequam notum esset vicinis suis. Ille respondit: iniquitas tua super caput tuum revertatur quia ego pro te mortis periculum non incurram. Sapiens vero iste de quo plus confidebat experto, ad alium misit qui eodem modo respondit. Sapiens igitur hoc animadvertans dixit servo suo: amice, ego nulum habeo amicum, set adhuc credo habere dimidium amicum, vade et dic ei ut iuvet me in isto casu. Nuntius veniens ad dimidium amicum narravit ei que dixerat dominus suus; ille vero audito nuntio, cum mangno animi affectu, respondit se velle mori pro ipso sicut amicus, et hoc est quod ibi tangit *B right margin*, *opposite line 615*; scilicet ad duas marcas *C*.—*amiculus unus*, scilicet ad duas marcas; id est unus pauper amicus meus *B*; magister Willhelmus *O*.

610. *Conderet*, sepeliret *BCL*.—*funus*, corpus mortuum pro me *B*; corpus mortuum si opus servietur *O*.—*homo punus*, non instabilis et mendax, et dicuntur Punici habitantes iuxta torridam zonam, Affricani scilicet omnes in callida regione instabiles sunt *B right margin*, *similar in CLO*.

611. *Ne sis*, quicumque *O*.—*mari*, crudelitate, id est instabilis *B*; crudeli *CL*.—*amari*,

Chapter heading XXXIII. adversitate *CL*; in adversitatibus omitted in *O*; chapter heading XXXIV is inserted in the text after line 612 in *L*.

613. Ingestus *L*.

614. Si sit *C*; patrio *C*, partibus *L*; pocitus *L*.

diligi *C*; que naute sunt crudeles et immundos *O*.

612. Unde crudelis vel ameris placabilis esto *B*.—*dives*, ut tu *BCO*; scilicet ad preces et causas amicitie *B*.

Chapter XXXIII. *In gestis habitus* etc. In hac satira docetur quomodo nos debemus gerere in adversita[te], quia scilicet propter adversitatem non debemus desperare nec propter prosperitatem multum superbire; docet enim quomodo debemus vivere in partibus alienis, quoniam debemus consuetudines patrie considerare et illis conformari in quantum possumus iuxta illud: cum fueris Romanie, romano vivito more, cum fueris alibi, vivito sicut illi [*cf. Aug. epist. 36, 32*]; et quod sic debemus facere probat per diffinitionem curialitatis, que talis est: curialitas est venerabilis gestus in dictis et factis secundum consuetudinem patrie approbatam; et illam diffinitionem innuit cum dicit: in gestis etc. Ne sis clamorosus etc., quantum agit de preceptis curialitatis littera p est *B foot of fol. 11r*. Reprehendit impatientes et invitatur nos ad patientiam. Curialitas est venerabilis gestus in dictis et factis et in habitu corporis secundum patrie consuetudinem approbatus *B right margin*.

613. *In gestis*, factis *BL*; continentis *C*.—*venerabilis*, continentia *BO*.—*ore*, in verbis *B*; sermone *C*.

614. *situs*, consuetudines, situs, de sino, sinis *B*; dispositiones *CL*; mores *O*.—*quibus*, sitibus *C*.—*potitus*, confretus *C*.

- 615 Ne sis clamosus, in* factis inpetuosus,
 Probris* exosus, dampnoque levi* furiosus.
 Numquam desperes* tibi si pro crimine meres;
 Pauper amara feres,* eterni principis heres.
 Sis* inter cives civis, cum paupere dives.
 620 Divite te prives, celebs, cum celibe* vives.
 Defectum* propere* socii quem cernis egere,
 Cures* suplere* quem* si potes ere tuere.
 Debitor esto bonus, cito debita reddere pronus,
 Ne te dampnet* honus* et flens* ablata colonus.
 625 Ut bene curetur* sonipes, sitiens* adaquetur,
 Fessus mundetur, pastuque suo satietur.
 Talia sunt plura que si petis aulica iura,*
 Pervigili cura comis cognoscere cura.

615. nec corrected in B.

616. Probus C; sevi L.

617. desperes corrected desperes B, desperes O.

618. fores O.

619. Scis L.

620. relibe P.

615. *inpetuosus*, set *circumspectus* in omnibus; id est *prosilien*s fatue ad alia facta B right margin.

616. *Probris*, turpiloquiis BC; turpisloquiis et nesis L.—*exosus*, ne sis O.—*dampnoque levi*, propter leve dampnum B.

617. Quia qui desperat peccat in spiritum sanctum, habe confidentiam in domino B.

618. *amara*, adversitatis B.—*feres*, patiaris B.—*heres*, beati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum [Vulg. Matth. 5, 3] B right margin.

619. *inter cives civis*, pacificus inter pacificos, civiter te gerens B.—*cum paupere dives*, associatus, incertu civis huiuscumque licet B.

620. *Divite*, de, id est statu divitis B; statu divitis privare velis O.—*prives*, estrangis B.—*celebs*, quasi celestem vitam gerens; celibes in terra, celites in celo, hic et hec celes-tis B right margin; castus O.

621. Deffectum B; proprie P.

622. Curas L; supplere P; quod P.

624. dampnat B; henus C, onus O; fleris L.

625. curretur corrected curetur B; sciciens BC, ciciens L.

627–628. These lines are omitted in O.

621. *propere*, cito B.

622. *quem*, socium L.—*ere tuere*, denariis deffende BC.

623. *reddere pronus*, ad reddendum BC.

624. *honus*, peccatum dolosum C; peccatum honerosum L.—*flens*, deflens scilicet a se, scilicet dampnet te B.—*colonus*, pauper, PAISANT B; cultor O.

625. Ut habet debitum pabulum equus C.—*sitiens*, habens sitim B.—*adequetur*, in aqua purissima O.

626. *Fessus*, equus.—*mundetur*, id est stramine vel aliquo alio B.—*satietur*, habeat proprium pabulum B.

627. *plura*, scilicet curialia iura B.—*aulica iura*, tales urbanitates B.

628. *Per vigili cura*, studio valde vigili B.—*comis*, tu curialis CL.—*cognoscere*, socius B.

CAPITULUM XXXIV

EXEMPLUM HONESTE* IMITATIONIS* IN MAGISTRO JOHANNE BLUNDO
CANCELLARIO* EBORACENSIS ECCLESIE*

- Flos* Eboracensis, flos pridem Parisiensis,
 630 Militat expensis mense donis que repensis.
 Nomine vir Blundus, vir sancta mente rotundus,
 Vir totus mundus quo plaudet* preside mundus,
 Sensu multiplici cuius* vult gratia dici.
 Dexter* victrici, que comprimit os inimici,*
 635 Exemplum stabit,* satiras* has irradiabit,*
 Crimina dampnabit, morum decus enucleabit.*

Chapter heading XXXIV. *oneste* O; *y*mitationis B; Blundo Johanne domino L; ecclesie Eboracensis CLO; this title is also found misplaced in L after line 612.

629. [F]los LO.

632. gaudet CO.

629. *Flos Eboracensis*, magister civitatis, hec Eboracus, -ei B; quia cancellarius O.—*Parisiensis*, quia ibi studuit C; quando legit Parisius de artibus et de theologia O.

630. *expensis*, per expensis B; in largitate L.—*repensis*, datis BCO.

631. *Nomine*, agnomine C; cognomine L.—*vir*, iste Johannes L.—*rotundus*, perfectus in corde et anima L.

632. *mundus*, mundificatus in corde et anima C.—*preside*, quo exsistente prelato ecclesie O.

633. eius L.

634. *Dexera* B, *Dextra* O; *innmici* C.

635. *stabis* corrected *stabit* B; *satyras* BC; *irradiabit* L.

636. *enucliabit* CL, *enuchabit* O.

633. Scilicet ratione proprii nominis et ratione sancte vite B.—*gratia*, quia Johannes interpretatur gratia dei L.

634. *Dextera*, nomen Johannis, titulo huius nominis Johannes; largitate B; nomen C; largitate sua O.—*que* gratia BO.—*os*, de-
tractiones B.—*inimici*, sui C; diaboli O.

635. *Exemplum*, in hoc libro, boni viri B.—*has*, in hoc libro L.—*irradiabit*, clarificabit et illuminavit B.

636. *Crimina*, peccata B, maledicta L.—*enucleabit*, demonstrabit, extra nucleum po[net] B.

CAPITULUM XXXV

QUOD IURA NATURE SUCCUMBUNT MALIS*

- Plangit* natura quia succumbunt* sua iura,
 Quando creatura negat artificem* paritura.
 Credere, sperare, iustos* salvant, et amare;
 640 Hec tria sectare, quod pendet ab hiis operare.*
 Set fructus operum quis habet? Quenam* mulierum
 Consequitur verum, mendax et dedala rerum?
 Impia falsidica meretrix blanditur amica,
 Si sit veridica* sub vero fallit iniqua.
 645 Sunt apparentes quidam* per verba parentes,
 Non persistentes set tempore deficientes.*

Chapter heading XXXV. in malis *L*; chapter heading omitted in *CO*.

637. [P]langit *LO*; subcombunt *P*.

638. artifice *P*.

639. vectos *C*.

640. opare *P*.

641. quis nam *corrected* quenam *B*.

644. veredica *L*, mendica *O*.

645. quidem *corrected* quidam *B*.

646. defficientes *B*.

Chapter XXXV. *Flos Eboracensis* [*sic*], In hac ultima satira agit de hereticis in quibus iura nature succumbunt, hoc est de falsis christianis, qui insurgunt contra suum creatorem. Proh! quam mirandum esset si vas terreum insurgeret contra figulum et falsus christianus non erubescit insurgere cum sit vilior et fragilior omni terra contra Christum; et causa huius ponit auctor virtutes quas debemus habere ne simus heretici *B* foot of fol. 11r, line 6.

Reprehendit excedentes iura nature, ut hereticos, superbos, et malos parentes *B* left margin.

637. *sua iura*, naturalia et positiva, scilicet quando creator negatur et quando superbi excedunt modum et etiam mali parentes *B* right margin.

638. *creatura*, homo *BO*.—*artificem*, creatorem suum *CL*.—*paritura*, creatura *B*.

639. *Credere sperare etc.*, beatus Augustinus composuit quemdam librum [*Encheiridion*, sive de fide, spe, et caritate] de tribus principalibus virtutibus scilicet corde, spe, fide, unde videndum est quid sit karitas, quid sit spes, quid sit fides. Karitas ergo est vera

dilectio veri et proximi. Spes est confidentia bonorum futurorum ex numeris precebus proveniens. Fides est substantia rerum sperandarum, arbitrium non apparentium [*Vulg. S. Paul. ad Hebr.*, XI, 1]. Cogitare ista tria, id est habeas has tres virtutes et bonus eris, ita tamen si feceris ea que dependent ab hiis. Postea ponit exclamationem dicens: set fructus operum quis habet *B* top of fol. 11v.

640. *Hec tria*, fidem, spem, caritatem *B*.—*pendet ab hiis*, scilicet totia tollat alia que ab eis descendunt *B*.—*operare*, fac *CL*.

641. *Set fructus operum quis habet*, quasi diceret fere nulli, unde Iuvenalis: Rara avis in terris, etc. [*Juv. 6, 165*]; vel que mulier, quasi diceret fere nulle, et ponit quasdam proprietates male mulieris, post hec etiam malas proprietates iniqui homines ostendunt, unde dicit: sunt apparentes etc. *B* top of fol. 11v, line 5.

642. *verum*, filium dei *BCL*.—*mendax*, mulier dico *O*.—*dedala*, deceptrix, ingeniosa *B*; multi vocati sunt set pauci electi *L*.

643. *amica*, amicabiliter *BCL*.

645. Probat intentionem per falsos amicos *L* left margin.—*apparentes*, pretendentes amicitiam *C*.—*per verba*, et per denarios *O*.

- Fallunt* doctores iustos quidam* seniores,
 Nautis peiores, et ventis* mobiliiores.
 Regnat in Herveo* logicali palma tropheo,
 650 Cuius corda deo fragrant* quasi thure Sabeo;
 Dum largis itidem* facit invidiam domat,* idem
 Cuius laudo* fidem, cum sit michi cognita pridem.
 Lucet amicorum virtus, me vate, meorum,
 Magnaque* clarorum rutilant exempla virorum.
 655 Vivite* prudentes et iusti, recta sequentes,*
 Fortes, vincentes adversa, modumque tenentes!

647. Fallit *corrected* Fallunt *L*; quoddam *corrected* quidam *B*.

648. vento *CL*.

649. hereneo *corrected* herneo *L*, hoc vero *O*.

650. fragrant *CL*.

647. *doctores*, scilicet illorum *B*.—*seniores*, sapientes in capita discipulorum *C*.

648. *peiores*, illi dico *BCLO*.—*mobiliiores*, tali discipuli dico *C*.

649. *Herveo*, sophista *BC*; magistro, sophista *L*.—*palma*, victoria rationis *L*.—*trophea*, meta *B*.

650. *Cuius*, Hervei *BO*; Herveri *C*.—*Sabeo*, a Sabei regione *C*; Arabico *O*.

651. *itidem*, similiter sint ipsi sibi *B*; temporis illud idemtidem est; itidem, que locatum est inter sibilis, adverbium Tullius ut ultra *B* written twice in left margin.—*domat*, suffoca invidos *L*.

652. *Cuius*, Herveri *C*.—*fidem*, fidelitatem *C*.—*cognita*, fides *C*.

653. *Lucet*, in libris meis *L*.—*amicorum*, scilicet meorum *B*.—*me vate*, scilicet existente, id est clarificante bonitatem eorum *B*.

654. *rutilant*, splendent in factis meis; exemplum est dictum vel factum alicuius honeste persone *B* right margin; resplendent in libris meis *L*.

655. *Vite prudentes etc.*, sequitur conclusio operis, id est, quatuor virtutibus car-

651. itidum *O*; donat *corrected* domat *B*.

652. claudio *corrected* laudo *O*.

654. Mangnaque *O*.

655. Vite *CL*; loquentes *CL*.

dinalibus, scilicet prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia. Prudentia est distinctio boni et mali cum appetitu unius et detestatione alterius. Iustitia est virtus que unicuique reddit quod suum est. Fortitudo est in prosperitate et in adversitate eiusdem vultus habitus, nec in prosperitate elati, nec in adversitate depressi. Temperantia est virtus in Ab hiis quatuor cardinalibus virtutibus finitur liber, et conscribuntur versus ad laudem beate virginis *B* left margin, opposite line 648.

Prudentia est discretio boni et mali cum appetitu unius et detestatione alterius. Iustitia est virtus que reddit unicuique quod suum est. Fortitudo est in prosperitate et in adversitate eiusdem animi habitus, nec in prosperitate elati, nec in adversitate depressi. Temperantia est rationis in libidinem et in alios animi motus firma dominatio *B* left margin, opposite line 655.

656. *Fortes*, fortitudo *B*; quantum ad fortitudinem *L*.—*modum*, quantum ad temperantiam *L*; moderantiam, id est temperantiam, est rerum moderantia, species temperantie *B*.

CAPITULUM XXXVI

CONCLUSIO OPERIS* ET CURIALITAS BEATE VIRGINIS MARIE*

Finis stella maris michi sis istis in amaris,*

Eterni iubaris radiisque clarificaris.*

Virga veni* Iesse,* que digna parens patris esse,

Chapter heading XXXVI. operis illius *C*; Marie virginis *CO*; *L* has the following additional heading directly above line 657: [C]oncessio operis et curialitatis beate Marie virginis.

657. via maris *L*.

658. clarifficaris *corrected* clarificaris *B*.

659. levi *corrected* veni *B*, levi *C*, levis *L*; gesse *O*.

Chapter XXXVI. *Finis stella etc.* Quia ea que ponuntur in fine solent magis memorie dari, ideo actor in fine sui operis commendationem et laudem ponit beatissime virginis Marie. Dicit ergo: o stella, id est o Maria, que interpretata es stella maris et sic ponitur interpretatio pro interpretato. Sis michis [sic] finis, scilicet perfectio operis mei, et da michi bonum finem in istis amaris, id est inter ista mundana que amarissima sunt, quasi diceret: o beata virgo Maria, sicut dedisti perfectionem et finem operi meo, ita michimetipsi des bonum finem et des michi inter mundana taliter militare ut precum mearum optentu locum in celestibus valeam optinere. Et quod ipsa beata possit facere probat. Quia ipsa est illuminata radiis, id est gratiis et virtutibus, iuxta illud: Spiritus sanctus spiritualis in te et virtus altissimi, etc. Eterni iubaris, id est uni dei qui est claritas totius orbis, iuxta illud: Ego sum lux mundi, etc. [*Vulg. Joh. 8, 12*] *B left margin, opposite line 638.*

658. Christi qui est lux mundi *B*.—*radius*, id est, donis dei *B*.

659. *Virga Iesse veni etc.*, id est, o tu pu[ri]ssima, veni scilicet in auxilium nobis peccatoribus, et posuit actor signum pro singnato iuxta illud: egredietur virga de radice Iesse et quod dingna, scilicet fuisti parens, id est mater, patris tui et vivi dei

creatoris tui, tu das, id est facis, abesse, id est procul esse a nobis iuga pristina, id est tu facis procul a nobis antiquas servitutes diaboli, in quibus erramus propter peccata prime parentis, scilicet Eve, miserabiliter irretici, quando Christus filius dei de virgine dignatus est nasci et mori pro nobis peccatoribus, qui moriendo mortem interfecit, iuxta illud: o mors, ero mors tua, etc. Illud [e]ve versum fuit in ave, iuxta illud: et ex eva formans ave, eve verso nomine, et hic fit o beata, messe, id est per messem, id est per fructum ventris tui, iuxta illud: benedicta tu in mulieribus, etc. O beata tu es limes, id est gloriosa via per quam . . . ubi ipse Christus. Tu dico illimis, id est sine fece peccatorum et sine corruptione, iuxta illud: virgo fuit ante partum et post partum etc.; tu fuisti mater et virgo, iuxta illud: de qua sola felici femina predicantur hec duo nomina: virgo et mater. Limes, id est corrigas vitam scilicet nostram, multis vitiorum contagiis deturpatam et a valle huius miserie nos sublimes, id est ad celestia erigas et opimes, id est fecundes fructu ventris tui, scilicet per Christum, qui est fructus ventris tui, quatenus virtutum moribus adornati regni eius mereamur participes fieri, ad quod ipse nos perducere dignetur *B left margin, opposite line 655 on fol. 11v.*

- 660 Das uteri messe iuga pristina mortis abesse.
 Illimis,* limes vite, vitam* michi limes,
 Ad te sublimes* et fructu ventris opimes.

*Explicit Morale Magistri Iohannis de Garlande.**

661. Illimus *corrected* illimis *C*; viam *C*.
 662. sullimes *C*.

660. *uteri*, per fructum ventris *L*.—
iuga pristina mortis antiqua dominica diaboli
C.

661. *Illimis*, o virgo, sine limo *B*.—*limes*,
semita B.—*limes*, adaptes *BCL*; adornas *O*.

662. *Ad te sublimes*, sursum erigas *BC*;
sublimare est sursum, de limo erigere *B*.—
opimes, dites vel ditare*velis me *C*.

After explicit in O:

Si vis incolumen, si te vis vivere sanum,
 Curas tolle graves, irassi crede pro-
 phanum,
 Parce mero, cenare cave, non sit tibi
 vanum

- Explicit. Explicit morale scolarium *C*,
 Explicit morale carmen scolarium *L*,
 Explicit morale *O*.

Surgere post epulas, sompnum fuge
 meridianum,

Nec migtum difere velis, nec cogeris
 anum. *A gloss adds to line 3:*

Aut brevis aut nullus sit somnus
 meridialis [*Regimen sanitatis Saler-*
nitanum, ed. F. R. Packard and F. H. Gar-
 rison, New York, 1920, pp. 159, 160; and
 Salvatore de Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, 5
 vols., Naples, 1852-59, *passim*].

*For the hymn to the Virgin which follows
 in O see chapter XIII above.*

INITIA OPERUM JOHANNIS DE GARLANDIA

Ad majoris auctoris evidentiam =
Prose introduction of *Integumenta*.

Ad mare ne videar latices deferre =
Synonyma in verse.

Ad vescendum =
Verba deponentalia.

Anglia quo fulget, quo gaudent presule claro =
De mysteriis ecclesie.

A nomen signat, trahitur, profertur =
Verse of *Equivoca* in prose and verse.

Artis grammaticae dudum compendia quedam =
Clavis compendii.

A sipo composita sunt obsipo =
Composita verborum.

Augustus, -ti, -to, Caesar vel mensis habeto =
Equivoca in verse.

Aulam sacre virginis cano triumphalem =
Epithalamium.

Cespitat in phaleris =
Distigium sive Cornutus.

Chartula nostra tibi mandat =
De contemptu mundi.

Clericus dicitur a grece cleros =
Expositiones vocabulorum.

Commentarius liber iste curialium person-
arum =
Commentarius.

Commoda dicemus =
Unum omnium.

Cum defective generant =
Nomina et verba defectiva.

Cum nihil utilius humane credo saluti =
Facetus.

Dictionarius dicitur libellus =
Dictionarius.

Discere non spernas cum stultos ludere
cernas =
Carmina.

Ecclesie sacre modulans lex metrica servit =
Ars lectoria ecclesie (Accentarium).

Es tibi si detur, mens illic fixa tenetur =
Versus proverbiales.

Fecit deus mirus mirum =
Miracula B. Marie Virginis.

Gaudia succumbunt lacrimis, risusque dolori =
De triumphis ecclesie.

Grammaticam trivialis apex =
Compendium grammaticae.

Humiles in spineto =
Prose introduction of *Morale scolarium*.

Merarii nuper cintillanti jubare pannidensi
rejecta =
Merarius.

Mutationes hujus libri sunt hec: Chaos =
Beginning of the prose commentary on
book I of *Integumenta*.

Nomine Floretus liber incipit =
Floretus.

Olla patella tripes coclear lanx fuscina cratis =
Dictionarius metricus.

Parisiana iubar diffundit gloria clerus =
*Parisiana poetria de arte prosaica, metrica,
et rhythmica*.

Parvus maiori paret veloxque viator =
Integumenta.

Peniteas cito, peccator =
Summa poenitentiae.

Per orbis ambitum et per spatia terrarum =
Prologue of *Epithalamium*.

Quia scire distinguere sophistarum ampullos =
Prose of *Equivoca* in prose and verse.

Rethoricos a me petis, o dilecte, colores =
Exempla honeste vite.

Scribo novam satiram set sic ne seminet iram =
Morale scolarium.

Si quis in ecclesia legis usquam verbula dya =
De orthographia.

Utilis est rudibus presentis cura libelli =
Liber quinque clavium sapientie.

PART III

FACSIMILES OF FOUR FOLIOS OF THE MORALE
SCOLARIUM IN BRUGES MANUSCRIPT 546

FOLIOS 2r°, 6v°, 10v°, 11r°.

PLATES

Plates 11–14. Facsimiles of four folios of the *Morale scolarium*
in Bruges MS 546, fols. 2r^o, 6v^o, 10v^o, 11r^o.

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Prologus

Incipit
Morale
Scolarium

5

10

MORALE SCOLARIUM

JOHANNIS DE GARLANDIA

BRUGES, MS 546, FOL. 2R°

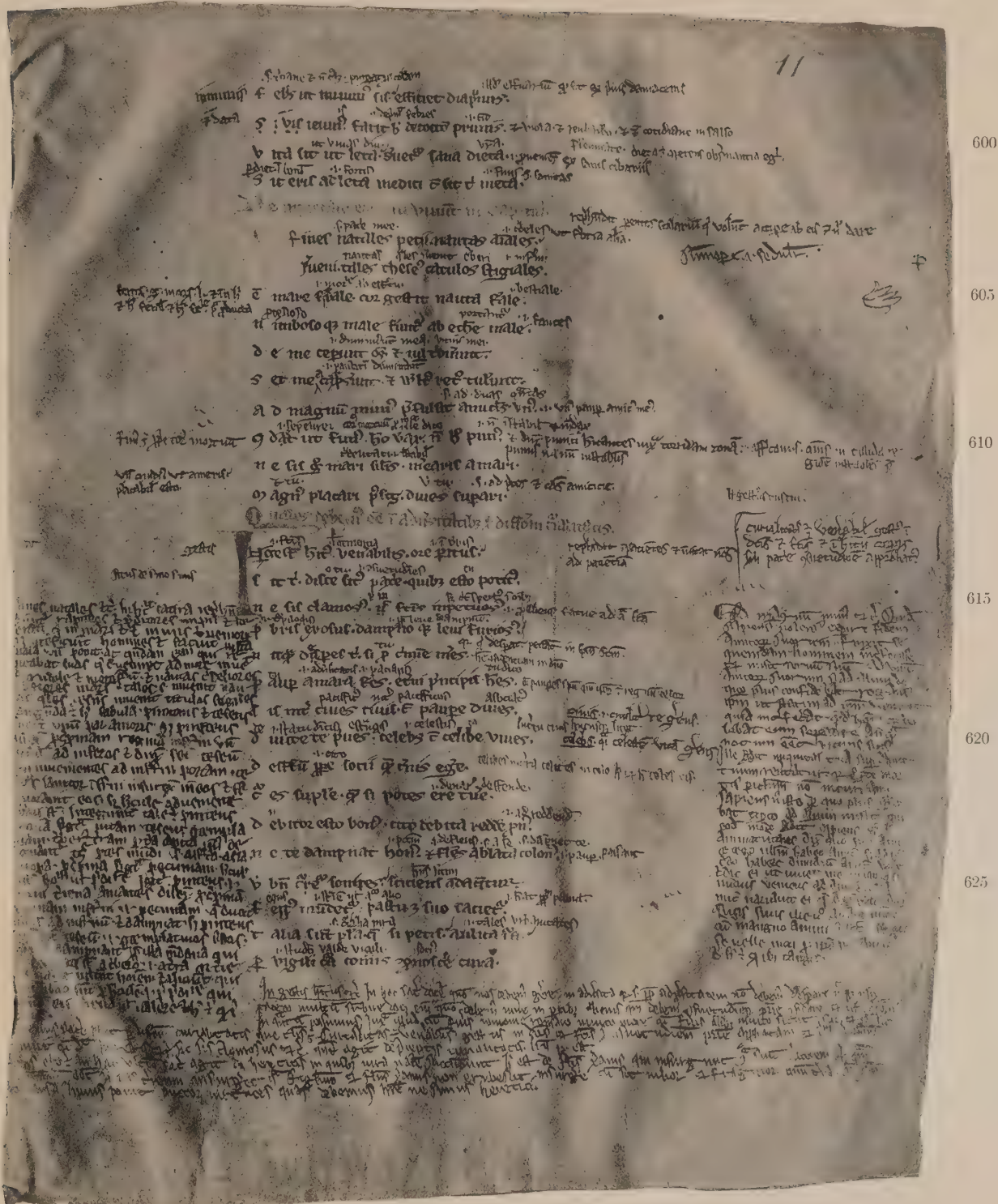


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MORALE SCOLARIUM

JOHANNIS DE GARLANDIA

BRUGES, MS 546, FOL. 11r°



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